REPORT RESUMES

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PATTERNS OF EDUCATIONAL USE OF A TELEVISED PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM. A STUDY OF METROPOLIS--CREATOR OR DESTROYER.
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A NATIONAL SURVEY WITH A CASE STUDY APPROACH WAS UNDERTAKEN TO DETERMINE THE EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES OF BROADCASTING A PUBLIC AFFAIRS, EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION (ETV) PROGRAM. THIS ETV PROGRAM, A SERIES OF FILMS AND SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS ON THE PROBLEMS, DILEMMAS, AND PROMISE OF MODERN URBAN LIFE, WAS DESIGNED AND TELEVISED IN AN EFFORT TO IMPROVE UNDERSTANDING OF URBAN PROBLEMS AMONG EDUCATORS AND TO STIMULATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF INNOVATIVE URBAN EDUCATION PROJECTS FOR ADULTS. THROUGH STANDARD SURVEY TECHNIQUES (CORRESPONDENCE, INTERVIEWS, AND ON-SITE CASE STUDIES IN OVER 80 CITIES), IT WAS FOUND THAT THE ETV PROGRAM STIMULATED WIDE-SCALE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMING. THE PROGRAM'S REAL POTENTIAL WAS REALIZED IN 46 CITIES WHERE ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO ESTABLISH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING PROJECTS BASED ON THE ETV PROGRAM. AMONG THE 10 LARGEST CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, ONLY NEW YORK AND LOS ANGELES WERE INCLUDED IN THIS GROUP. A SIGNIFICANT AND UNUSUAL FINDING OF THE SURVEY WAS THAT THE ETV PROGRAM MADE ITS GREATEST EDUCATIONAL APPEAL TO SMALL OR MEDIUM-SIZED CITIES, THOUGH THE CONCENTRATION OF THE PROGRAM WAS ON BIG-CITY ISSUES AND IMAGES. (JH)

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PATTERNS OF EDUCATIONAL USE OF A TELEVISED PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

A STUDY OF METROPOLIS: CREATOR OR DESTROYER?

SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY,
UNDER CONTRACT NO. OE 5-16-039, THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

STUDY DIRECTOR: HARRY L. MILLER
AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

1966

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education
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Patterns of Educational Use of a Televised Public Affairs Program.

A Study of METROPOLIS: CREATOR OR DESTROYER?

Sponsored by the University Council on Education
For Public Responsibility, under Contract No.
OE 5-16-039, the U.S. Office of Education

Study Director: Harry L. Miller
at New York University

1966

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The study proposal was initiated by the Program Committee of the University Council, under the chairmanship of Carl Tjerandsen, who, with Henry Alter of NET, conducted the discussions with the U.S. Office of Education to obtain the necessary financing. The accuracy and extent of the first section on the planning phase of the project owes much to Mr. Tjerandsen's generous contribution of time in making his files available to the study, and his consistent encouragement and help; Mr. Alter was in constant communication with the study director throughout the course of study, and his help in providing leads to sources of information, in filling gaps from his inexhaustible files, and in generally cheering us on, was immeasurably great.

Most of the fieldwork was done by Marilyn V. Miller, whose visits to most of the cities where Metropolis programs were undertaken was supplemented by the following case study reporters: Noreen Haygood in Boston; R.S. Chapman in Calgary; Howard Holst in Memphis; Donald Albanito in Peoria; Andries Deinum in Portland; Keith Wilson in Salt Lake City; and Marjorie Hay in Winnipeg. Thanks are due all of them, as well as the hundreds of respondents who talked so patiently with them and who remain anonymous in this report.

The Division of General Education at New York University administered the contract under which the study was conducted,

and we wish to express appreciation to Dean Russell F.W. Smith, and particularly to Phyllis Ammirati for her helpful efficiency.

NET
METROPOLIS:
Creator or Destroyer
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KODAK
Metropolis:
values in conflict
C. E. Elias, Jr.
James Gillies
Svend Riemer
Discussion Leader's Manual
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VALUES IN CONFLICT
METROPOLIS-
CREATOR
OR
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VIEWER'S GUIDE

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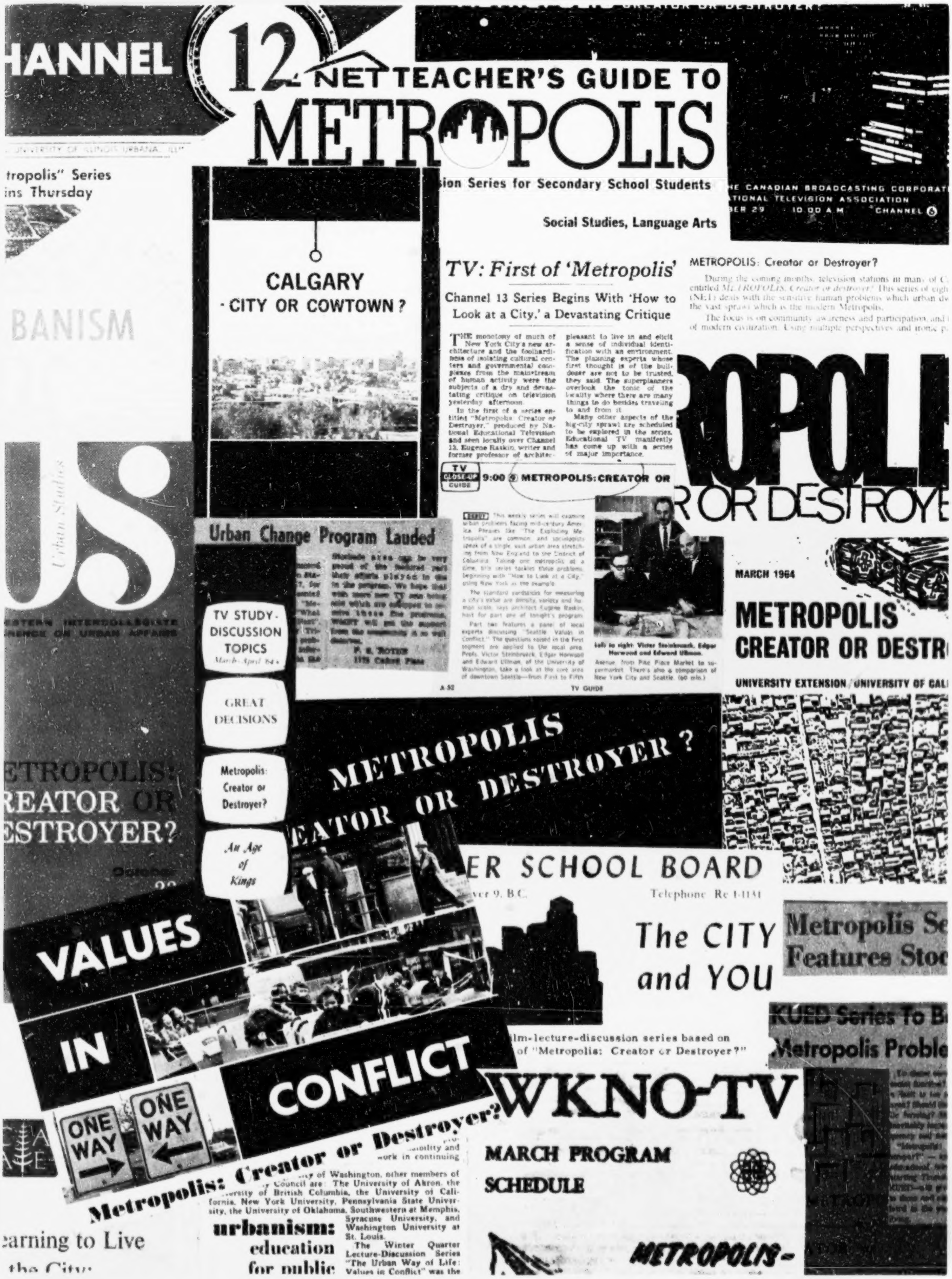

HANNEL 12

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS URBANA, ILL.

tropolis" Series
ins Thursday

BANISM

NET TEACHER'S GUIDE TO
METROPOLIS
sion Series for Secondary School Students

Social Studies, Language Arts

HE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORAT
ATIONAL TELEVISION ASSOCIATION
BER 29 · 10.00 A.M. CHANNEL 6

CALGARY
· CITY OR COWTOWN ?

TV: First of 'Metropolis'

Channel 13 Series Begins With 'How to Look at a City,' a Devastating Critique

THE monotony of much of New York City's new architecture and the foolhardiness of isolating cultural centers and governmental complexes from the mainstream of human activity were the subjects of a dry and devastating critique on television yesterday afternoon.

In the first of a series entitled "Metropolis: Creator or Destroyer," produced by National Educational Television and seen locally over Channel 13, Eugene Raskin, writer and former professor of architec- pleasant to live in and elicit a sense of individual identification with an environment. The planning experts whose first thought is of the bulldozer are not to be trusted, they said. The superplanners overlook the tonic of the locality where there are many things to do besides traveling to and from it.

Many other aspects of the big-city sprawl are scheduled to be explored in the series. Educational TV manifestly has come up with a series of major importance.

METROPOLIS: Creator or Destroyer?

During the coming months, television stations in many of C
entitled *METROPOLIS: Creator or destroyer?* This series of eigh
(NET) deals with the sensitive human problems which urban de
the vast sprawl which is the modern Metropolis.

The focus is on community awareness and participation, and
of modern civilization. Using multiple perspectives and ironic p

ROPOLI
R OR DESTROYE

TV CLOSE-UP GUIDE 9:00 ⑨ METROPOLIS: CREATOR OR

This weekly series will examine urban problems facing mid-century America. Phrases like "The Exploding Metropolis" are common and sociologists speak of a single vast urban area stretching from New England to the District of Columbia. Taking one metropolis at a time, this series tackles these problems, beginning with "How to Look at a City," using New York as the example.

The standard yardsticks for measuring a city's value are density, variety and human scale, says architect Eugene Raskin, host for part one of tonight's program.

Part two features a panel of local experts discussing "Seattle: Values in Conflict." The questions raised in the first segment are applied to the local area. Profs. Victor Steinbrueck, Edgar Horwood and Edward Ullman, of the University of Washington, take a look at the core area of downtown Seattle—from First to Fifth Avenue, from Pike Place Market to supermarket. There's also a comparison of New York City and Seattle. (60 min.)

Left to right: Victor Steinbrueck, Edgar Horwood and Edward Ullman.

A-52 TV GUIDE

Urban Change Program Lauded

[illegible]

US
Urban Studies
ESTERN INTERCOLLEGIATE
ERENCE ON URBAN AFFAIRS

ETROPOLIS:
REATOR OR
ESTROYER?

October
22

TV STUDY-DISCUSSION TOPICS
March-April '64

GREAT DECISIONS

Metropolis: Creator or Destroyer?

An Age of Kings

MARCH 1964

METROPOLIS
CREATOR OR DESTR

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION / UNIVERSITY OF CAL

METROPOLIS
EATOR OR DESTROYER ?

ER SCHOOL BOARD
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The CITY
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ilm-lecture-discussion series based on
of "Metropolis: Creator or Destroyer?"

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VALUES IN CONFLICT

ONE WAY
ONE WAY

Metropolis: Creator or Destroyer?

...ability and ...work in continuing ...y of Washington, other members of ...y Council are: The University of Akron, the ...ersity of British Columbia, the University of California, New York University, Pennsylvania State University, the University of Oklahoma, Southwestern at Memphis, Syracuse University, and Washington University at St. Louis.

The Winter Quarter Lecture-Discussion Series "The Urban Way of Life: Values in Conflict" was the

urbanism:
education
for public

earning to Live
the City

WKNO-TV

MARCH PROGRAM
SCHEDULE

METROPOLIS-

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- C. Table of Contents of the Readings
- D. List of NET Stations which broadcast the films

I. THE PROJECT AND THE PROGRAM

During the spring of 1964, approximately 80 educational television stations throughout the United States ran a series of eight half-hour films, under the general title "Metropolis: Creator or Destroyer?", dramatizing the problems, the dilemmas, and the promise, of modern urban life. The films were distributed by National Educational Television, which also arranged at the same time for their release to some Canadian stations through the Canadian Broadcasting Company. There was, on the face of it, nothing unusual about such an event; educational television as an institution has before, and since, developed a number of film series which play a variation on some theme of public interest.

This particular effort is interesting and significant because the films, and a special book of readings created for the purpose, were used in communities around the country as the focus for an unusually vigorous educational program whose aim was to help citizens translate the social generalizations of the films into locally meaningful terms, and to involve them in fruitful discussion of local metropolitan issues. Even more significant for the general field of public affairs education is the fact that the series was planned and the local educational efforts coordinated by a group of cooperating universities, acting on a national level far above their usual concern for local, state and community clienteles.

Though there is nothing new only about television-based educational programs, and there have been in the past at least several instances of university cooperation in developing educational materials, the METROPOLIS project is unique in that it represents an inspired mix of a great variety of institutional and program elements into an effort of truly national scope, requiring:

Coordinating the work of such diverse institutions as private and state universities, the national educational television network, national associations of university adult educators, and a foundation-sponsored agency engaged in research and development in adult education;

cooperative development of the materials themselves by subject-matter experts, professional educators, professional television personnel, and a film-maker;

production of a book of readings on urbanism to supplement the film material, and the public discussion of it;

production and dissemination of supporting materials in the form of a discussion manual for use of community groups viewing the films and using the readings, and a utilization manual which suggested a variety of program formats which one could develop around the films;

the use of national organizations to reach both the planners and consumers of educational programs in local communities in which the organizations had roots.

From any point of view, the attempt to integrate such diverse interests and talents in developing a public affairs program on a national scale represents a social invention of remarkable interest to adult education as a general field. The extensive survey of adult education by A.A.Liveright for the U.S. Office of Education found evidence of few programs in the crucially important area of public affairs, and the METROPOLIS project may very well blaze a trail for future attempts. As a model, then, it merits detailed study of whatever evidence can be found that might help us answer a host of questions: what were the crucial elements in the development of the plan as a whole? how well did the parts finally fit into the whole? what actually happened in the local communities? which conditions facilitated or inhibited the adoption of the program locally?

It is the purpose of this report to suggest as many answers to such questions as are now available from the study on which it is based. The study itself included a review of the minutes of innumerable meetings, a sizeable amount of correspondence, interviews with those who had most to do with moving the project ahead at every stage, visits to every city adopting some element of the program design to talk with everyone available who had played an important role in program planning or execution, and employment of local reporters in seven cities to do special case studies.

As a retrospective study, it suffers from all the faults of such investigations, particularly so because we asked people to recall events that occurred over a year before the interviews. The reactions to the films, for example, were vague and general, mere impressions of what may have been sharp responses at the time. The names of people who had organized informal discussion groups were in a number of places lost in the mists of time. In vivid illustration of the geographical mobility of the professional class, many of the university or television station staff who had worked on developing local programs turned out to be across the continent in another city, or another country. To the extent that the study is concerned with a generally quantitative picture of the educational activity generated by the project, it is safe to say, then, that what it reports is a minimum statement of what really happened.

Beginnings

METROPOLIS grew out of the establishment, in 1961, of the University Council on Education for Public Responsibility (hereafter in this report, the Council), an organization whose founding was one of the final acts of the Fund for Adult Education before it dissolved. In 1958, the Fund developed the concept of education for public responsibility as a principal focus for its operations, and encourated both the discussion of the idea itself and a number of programs relevant to it.

As one of its legacies to the field of liberal adult education, the Fund granted $15,000 to establish the Council, (with the promise, later honored by the Ford Founcation, of $100,000) composed of eleven universities which had in the past participated in other Fund programs: University of Akron, University of British Columbia, University of California, New York University, University of Oklahoma, Pennsylvania State University, Southwestern at Memphis, Syracuse University, University of Washington, and Washington University. The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults was later included as an Associate member. The University of Chicago was an original member, but dropped out; representatives from Washington University participated in the planning of the Metropolis programs, but subsequently that institution also withdrew from the Council.

The grant was to be spent over a period of ten years, primarily to cover the travelling expenses of the presidents of these universities, and their deans of adult education divisions as Associate members, to meetings at which they could discuss how their institutions, and others to be invited to membership in the Council, might best implement the university's role in education for public responsibility. More specifically, as it was put by C. Scott Fletcher, then the Fund's president,

> It might be said that the Council is charged with the responsibility of advancing the idea and practice of education for public responsibility by:
>
> A. Experimenting with content, method and audiences
> B. Exchanging information concerning successes and failures among themselves and with a large number of other institutions of higher learning.
> C. Concentrating on those programs which prove to have the greatest value or impact and ultimately converting these into national television programs for use by both educational and commercial television stations.
> D. Enlarging the membership of the Council and increasing the number of people who participate in the programs which will be available.

The Council meetings, almost from the first, began a rapid evolution into a somewhat different form than that originally intended. Most of the work of the Council was carried on at the meetings of the Associate members, the adult education deans, and presented to yearly meetings of the presidents. And the deans, naturally, involved in the planning operation members of their staffs who had the most experience in creative curriculum development for adults at the university level. At the same time, lacking the funds necessary for establishing a secretariat, the Council accepted the offer by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults to serve this function which it did until October, 1963; the Center's role, historically, has been to aid and stimulate university efforts in the field of liberal education for adults, and its involvement seemed natural and appropriate.

The most significant consequence of these personnel shifts was that a number of men operating responsible program planning posts at universities scattered through the United States and Canada had an opportunity, for the first time, to come together to plan a national program which each of their institutions could utilize. They already knew each other very well through previous work together on FAE planning and evaluating committees and at the national associations whose meetings they regularly attended, and had for some time discussed the desirability of cooperatively developing program materials. For this group, then, the Council represented a legitimate means of realizing what they had long wished to do.

Thus in a little more than a year after its beginning, Council activity was concentrated in the work of a Program

Planning Committee consisting primarily of active program administrators with a vast amount of practical experience at the business of organizing programs in public affairs, with the members and Associate members of the Council meeting annually to discuss and approve what that committee accomplished. Though it is not a major purpose of this report to deal with the Council itself, it is surely useful to point out that it is most unlikely that a complex educational program such as METROPOLIS would ever have developed if such organizational shifts of responsibility had not occurred. A more general conclusion also suggests itself--that when organizational goals are diverse and somewhat ambiguous, activity tends to be shaped by those who have well-defined, specific, and relevant purposes in mind.

Program Development

At a spring meeting in 1962, the Council appointed two committees to carry on interim activities during the period preceding the regular annual meeting in October; it charged one of these groups with the responsibility for developing ideas for a national educational program within the broad area of public responsibility, and the other with the task of planning and organizing the next Council meeting itself. Both groups met jointly at the end of May, and, without any apparent attention to their separate functions, worked as a general planning committee for program development. At this point the members had two broad guidelines:

1. The program was to use a variety of media and methods.
2. It was to concern itself with some major issue of immediate concern to large sections of the public, preferably either urbanism or automation.

Less than two years later, in the spring of 1964, the project itself was launched, and the remainder of this first section is devoted to an examination of what went on between these two points in time. It is instructive to look even at a bare outline of those activities:

May, 1962 -- Memorandum from the Center (acting in its role of secretariat) outlining the planning task, suggesting ideas, soliciting suggestions, for the planning meeting.

May, 1962 -- Meeting of the joint planning committee in Chicago (with Liveright* at first serving as informal chairman). Decided on urbanism as the topic, explored the problem of getting in touch with existing educational groups interested in the general problem, tentatively decided both to interest the commercial networks in producing documentaries, and to work with National Educational Television on a series.

June, 1962 -- Letters (from Tjerandsen of NYU) to three major networks outlining the plan and suggesting discussion of network willingness to dramatize the project by doing several documentaries on the topic.

July, 1962 -- Program Committee meets in New York, holds talks with networks and with NET to discuss cooperation. Prospects of network cooperation not encouraging, but NET proves very interested in joint development of a film series, appoints Alter (director of utilization for NET) as liaison member of committee. Decided to produce some type of discussion materials.

August, 1962 -- Circulation of three memoranda, each proposing a series of themes on which the films series and accompanying materials might be based. (From Alter of NET, Hager and Buck of Penn State, and Johnson, liaison with Continuing Committee on Urban Life.)

*The full names and organizational affiliations of all persons mentioned in the report are listed in Appendix A.

September, 1962 -- Memorandum from the Center, listing 16 experts in urban life as suggestions for possible consultants, summarizing the proposals for the series content, and adding proposals from both Liveright and Haygood of the Center.

September, 1962 -- Program Planning Committee meets in New York to agree on general outlines for the project for presentation to October Council session. Agreements incorporated in a summary report of the previous four months' activities and decisions: that the program core should be 8 to 10 films on the value conflicts inherent in the major trends of modern urban life, which NET agreed to produce (financing undetermined); supplementary materials to be produced by Council members; target date set as Fall or Winter, 1963-64; a utilization committee be set up to work with Alter on plans for stimulating educational utilization.

October, 1962 -- Council meets at University of Oklahoma. Committee proposals accepted, Liaison and Utilization subcommittees appointed; Freedman (UCLA) and Davis (Southwestern) given responsibility for developing the readings; target dates set for completion of the films, readings, and supporting materials.

December, 1962 -- Further correspondence with commercial networks, aiming at cooperative development of materials.

December, 1962 -- Program Committee meeting in New York; NET agrees that if additional funds cannot be found, it will use its own funds to produce series; utilization plans agreed on as well as thematic criteria for the films.

December, -- 1962 -- Position paper on the series content and on utilization, drafted by Tjerandsen, sent to NET.

January, 1963 -- Revised outline of the readings prepared and circulated by Freedman.

March, 1963 -- Meeting of utilization sub-committee in Chicago, discussion of NET's commitment.

March, 1963 -- Circulation of proposal on series content by Kaufman of NET.

April, 1963 -- Proposal for the series submitted to Stoney, a documentary film producer, and his interest in doing the series solicited; Stoney indicates interest, and submits a memorandum including an outline of eight proposed films.

May, 1963 -- Program committee meets with Stoney in Minneapolis to discuss outline of series.

May, 1963 -- CSLEA sends memo to all members of several university associations, notifying them of the plans, and soliciting expressions of interest.

June, 1963 -- Utilization subcommittee meets in New York to plan notification of university field and contacts with other national organizations; meets with members of Regional Plan Association.

June, 1963 -- Alter, for NET, sends notification of the series, and outlines utilization plans, to all NET station managers.

August, 1963 -- Meeting in Philadelphia to discuss coordination between films and readings.

August, 1963 -- Correspondence among members of the Program Committee, exchanging concern about Stoney's approach at that time.

August, 1963 -- Program Committee meets in New York; firms up utilization plans.

October, 1963 -- Annual meeting of the Council in New York; Tjerandsen reports for the Committee on progress.

October, 1963 -- Program Committee meets, agrees that series should if possible be made more generalizable to country as a whole than it is now.

March, 1964 -- Films released to stations, local programs begin.

Shaping the Program

One is struck immediately, on scanning this schedule, by the complexity of the planning operation, and by the time and effort necessary to bring the project off. Indeed, there is a semi-apologetic note in the Committee's report to the Council in 1963 referring to the number of meetings held during the preceding year. Yet, any retrospective outsider viewing the record would find it difficult to suggest ways in which it might have been done more rapidly or, if the cooperative decision-making process were to be maintained, with any fewer meetings. It seems remarkable, on the contrary, that such a sizeable cooperative venture could have been completed at all in less than two years; in somewhat less than three months, from the idea itself, for example, the general shape of the program had been agreed upon, and the committee laid out a series of action plans which later required only minor changes. One wonders, too, about the occasional reference in the records to a need for economy; if the number of man-days of expert time given to the project voluntarily had been paid for on the basis of current consulting rates in education, several hundred thousands of dollars would have been necessary beyond the cost of the films themselves.

One major element in the early hopes for the program did not depend, as some of the utilization proposals later did, on the availability of more funds than the Council could provide, namely, a plan for beginning the project dramatically with a documentary on urbanism by a major network. Program Committee members discussed this possibility with responsible persons at each of the three national television networks, and received some encouragement from two of them.

Although none of the networks would conceive of doing a series on urbanism, the possibility of doing a one-shot documentary, perhaps as part of some already on-going series of public affairs presentations, seemed reasonable. It is difficult to interpret the fact that nothing came of these discussions, and that the networks ultimately refused to take advantage of what appears to be an attractive opportunity wo work cooperatively with a national group of universities. One network official suggested that the idea was two years ahead of its time, since his own network programmed its public affairs spots on the basis of hot news value. Some Committee members felt that the more receptive attitude of the other two networks might well have indicated an interest in public relations rather than a serious interest in the proposal, and the final results seem to confirm these impressions. The experience seems in general to support the view that the networks are determined to develop their educational role in isolation from the major centers of knowledge in the society (except for the hours before 8:00 A.M.).

The decision by National Educational Television to invest its own house funds in producing the series was, as a consequence, the crucial element in the realization of the project. The question of how effectively a group of university program planners can work cooperatively in shaping a multi-media program with professional film and television people is also one of the most interesting raised by the METROPOLIS program. The process which led to the final form of the film series thus merits a considerably more detailed description than the bare outline of events already presented in the schedule.

During the summer of 1962, immediately following the first meeting of the Planning Committee and its decision to develop a program on urban problems, five persons wrote memoranda proposing thematic outlines for the contemplated film series. All were university people, although only one of them was an official member of the Council. Six months later, when NET had committed itself to produce the series, a sixth proposal was written by Kaufman of NET, who was presumably aware of the preceding documents. This was the proposal which was sent to the film-maker Stoney, who in turn wrote his own outline for a series.

What is most disconcerting about comparing the final series of eight films with these proposals is that the films bear not very much overall resemblance to any of them. They are, as one might expect, closer to Stoney's than to any of the others, but even here the difference is substantial. A summary of the major ideas for the series which one finds in the earliest, most academically-oriented proposals follows:

1. The effect of urbanization on the social roles of the city dweller as a consumer, family member, citizen, worker, etc. The films would focus separately on each role, and dramatize the value judgement and policy issues arising out of the personal dilemmas confronting the individual. Or, in a similar fashion, but a less personalized one, the films might describe current trends in such major human areas as family life, leisure time, intellectual life, education, etc., and inquire in each case into the effects of urbanization on them.

2. The relation of urbanization to social disorganization. This proposal would result in a series of films on mental illness, crime and delinquency, over-bureaucratization, and the like.

3. Urbanization and world development, Here, the series would begin with an historical sketch of the development of cities and urban life, then go on to treat current international relations from the standpoint of a world-wide drive for urbanization, as part of attempts to raise living standards everywhere and help establish stable and peaceful societies.

4. Another takes off from the assumption that the pressing need is to "direct people's attention to underlying problems faced by a society where an increasing proportion of the population lives in an urban setting, and where contact with the environment is correspondingly less direct, more transient and superficial," leading to "deep-seated individual and corporate anxiety inasmuch as our value system is rooted in rustic tradition." Although the proposers do not translate their suggestions into a specific program format, they argue for some format "where the dialetic method would be appropriate," and outline a series of topics including automation, the conflict between mutual aid and man's divorce from the industrial process, bureaucracy and its effect on the "whole man," rootlessness, the city's night people, leadership, and others.

5. One makes the case for a real breakthrough on urban problems by dealing boldly and in a visionary fashion with the possibility for a new role for education in the city, an application of the agricultural extension idea to a city in which a revolution in the use of central space will bring back into residence a thoroughly heterogeneous population. The series, in this proposal, will argue for a dual use of building in the urban core, turning office buildings into combinations of office and residence space, drawing people back into the city; and to help them build a new life there, a corps of urban agents will be set up "with resources great enough to re-shape the urban life from within."

6. Still another proposal systematically develops the basic idea for the series as originally conceived, which was to concentrate on the value conflicts which underlie the decisions which citizens and the city planners must make as they confront urban problems. In this view, the series would begin with several films presenting the historic development and major present problems of the city, and some possible future directions for urban development. It would then proceed to examine separately the pressing decisions confronting us in the planning of space, traffic, housing, civil rights, education, cultural development, and the like.

7. Finally, in a proposal that pays much more attention to defining the desired audience than do the previous ones, one

finds the suggestion that the series should concentrate on providing the viewer with a perspective from which to view urbanization, possibly separating the series into a section dealing with the nature of the problems, and another with steps we must take to deal with them. The series should concentrate first on an explanation of the forces at work in urbanization today, centralization, complexity, value conflicts, etc., then turn to a number of problems, seen not in isolation, but as they relate to the dynamics of urbanization. Thus, "transportation problems should not simply be seen as traffic jams and superhighway construction but, rather, as a manifestation of the interplay of the processes of centralization and decentralization in a state of imbalance..." These would be followed by a series of programs which would clarify the issues to be resolved in facing the problems, and specify the alternatives of choice and action.

Although these proposals obviously differ wildly in basic emphasis and general direction, they have in common a shared academic concern with getting below the surface of problems as people confront them to more general and theoretical conceptions, and a shared educator's concern that strong differences of opinions must be objectively presented. One finds these views strongly stated in a position paper on the series drafted by Tjerandsen, chairman of the Program Committee, in December (six months after the idea originated) and sent to NET for its consideration. Under the heading "Content of the TV Program," the draft makes the following recommendations:

The members of the University Council realize and appreciate that NET must assume major responsibility for the final content and arrangement of the TV programs. It recommends strongly, however, that the following factors be considered in selecting content for these programs:

a. The series consist of eight to ten programs (probably one-half hour in length).

b. The series should, if possible, be prepared on film.

c. Major emphasis in the programs should be upon the value-conflicts involved in urbanism (illustrative conflicts have been mentioned in previous minutes of the University Council meetings).

d. Although NET must determine--with the advice of appropriate consultants--the final content of the program the University Council believes that all the problem areas included in the appendix to this statement should be dealt with or discussed at some point and in some manner in the program.

e. Conflicting positions and points of view with respect to the various values involved should be strongly presented during the course of the program. The program should permit advocacy of the important opposing points of view of key issues.

f. Treatment of the subject should be such that the positive aspects of urbanism and the city are dealt with as well as the problems and dilemmas. The series should attempt to underline the hope and the promise of the city as well as its decay and failures.

g. During the course of the program some attempt should be made to illustrate the historical perspective behind the city and some illustrations used from foreign cities so that the city is approached on a world-wide as well as a national basis. In this connection, realizing that we are cooperating with Canadian universities, examples from Canadian cities should be utilized.

Several months later Paul Kaufman of NET wrote a background piece on the projected series, which was circulated among the Program Committee and sent to Stoney, who was then considering filming the series. Freedman, who was overseeing the actual editorial job on the book of readings, was impressed by the memorandum, and particularly encouraged by its close relationship with the outline of the readings already decided on. There is little doubt that in its expression of the common elements in the academic proposals made before this time, the piece represents the content for the series which most of those working for the Council would view as acceptable.

The memorandum begins with a series of quotations from Mumford, Weber, and the Goodmans, and goes on to state a general theme in agreement with the one which the Program Committee earlier expressed:

> When NET broadcasts its series on URBANISM in February 1964, several "generations" of ideas will have already come and gone. I would like to call this paper a collection of first generation ideas; rough models which should, at best, suggest a more hardy breed of ideas.
>
> Urbanism is an extremely difficult subject to organize. I could name you a dozen different ways in which to order this material before you could say "Lewis Mumford." There is a tough research and writing job ahead if we expect real logic and clarity to manifest itself in the series. Presented here, in rather arbitrary sequence, are clusters of ideas which I will think we will want to consider for inclusion in the programs.
>
> The central theme of the series has been expressed as: The City Creator or Destroyer of the Good Life.

> We will be concerned with the quality of human life in the urban environment and the values from which policy decisions must necessarily flow. We will be bringing out into the open, for all to see and judge, the standards and criteria which we must apply to these decisions.

The memorandum proceeds to describe these "clusters of ideas" in some detail; they can easily be viewed as a proposal for eight films with the following themes:

A Prespective on Cities: Historical and Descriptive

Some of the great cities of the past should be described and we should learn what special things these metropolitan ancestors had to offer their inhabitants... We may wish to give a sense of the quality of the lives led by a variety of urbanities the world over...define what we mean by city, suburb, urban, megapolis...

Government, Finance, Power and Urbanism

Suggested here is an attempt to describe the complex patterns of urban government, then a concentration of the values which determine the placement of governmental power, as in, for example, the conflict over comprehensive metropolitan units vs. smaller units more responsive to citizen control.

The Two Cultures Problem

Concentrating on the increasing division of urban society into reasonably well-off surburban masses and the "underutilized" population concentrated in the central city.

Planning, Architecture, Style

Raises the questions of who is planning what, and for whom; is our belief that planning is actually taking place a myth? Suggests bringing attention to the most workable criteria for judging design, and revive the concern for aesthetics as well as function.

Major Social and Physical Problems of the Urban Setting

Crime, delinquency, mental illness, segregation, old age, transportation, recreation, treated realistically yet with a sharp eye for the viable alternative plans for meeting the problems.

The Culture of the Cities

We should work toward the destruction of the myths about the relative merits of urban and rural cultures which prevent us from developing and enjoying to the fullest the potentialities of the city.

Urbanism as a Psychological and Sociological Phenomenon

What urbanism is doing to the traditional patterns of interaction between people. The "sense of community" vs. "anomie", the impact of urban life on a variety of human roles and activities.

Utopia and New Visions of Urban Life

A provocative examination of those visions of urban life which are technologically feasible...the city of the future. The ideas of Fuller and Le Corbusier among others.

The summary of the document above does not do justice to it, but should serve to show how the major themes of previous proposals have been compactly pulled together and made relevant to the overall intentions of the Council's Committee. It will also serve, therefore, as a kind of academic benchmark against which we can view the final film series.

About a month after the Kaufman background paper was circulated, Stoney's "Notes for a Film Series on Urbanism" was sent to NET, and made available to Program Committee members. Although the "Notes" occasionally quotes from the Kaufman memorandum, the differences are striking.

Stoney begins by stating his view of the purpose of the programs:

> To help the intelligent layman see, feel, relate through his senses the experiences of his own daily life to the sometimes baffling abstract concepts that cluster about the word "urbanism" and often impede his understanding of what leading thinkers in the field have to say...
>
> It is not the purpose of this series to present in any orderly fashion the leading theories in this field, as one might if publishing a popular anthology on the subject. The printed page is obviously far more suited to such an approach...
>
> Rather we have set ourselves the task of using the potential of the motion picture camera to SEE with such intensity and such selectivity that what is obviously "real before the eyes" also can be comprehended as part of a theoretical abstraction. What, in human terms, is meant by "controlled open space," "planned population density," "multi-purpose neighborhoods?" Indeed, in the long run, what is meant by the "good life?"

Stoney goes on to indicate something of the tone of the program as he sees it, and his approach in general. While the tone will vary, "one may be a lyrical visual essay and another a rough and tumble debate," his intentions, in general, are to illustrate general concepts by his choice of people and situations, include historical material in each of the films, and to build in "occasional sharp clashes of point of view."

> We hope the general tone of the program will be one of tolerant good humor, salted at times with indignation over man's inhumanity to man, relieved at times by loving observation of his foibles and supported throughout by examples of the good and beautiful that have somehow been created in spite of all hazards...Although we have no axe to grind, we happen to like cities and city-living and will not strain ourselves to hide this prejudice.

A summary of his eight program suggestions follows, to permit comparison with the Kaufman memorandum:

How to Look at a City

A "visual essay" on open spaces and vistas in the city, designed to "persuade our viewers to look up from their TV sets and see their own cities with new interest..." The intention is to examine how people actually use the open space available to them, in contrast to planned open space, which often is sterile and unusable. The emphasis seems to be the Jane Jacobs view of the importance of keeping human scale and human activities.

The Two Cities

Stoney takes up the suggestion in the Kaufman memorandum to propose a program which will deal with the "myth" of the urban slum. He suggests two possible approaches: one would use the experience of growing up in a slum of two such gifted women as Marian Anderson and Ethel Waters to show that there are also "two cities" or more within the so-called slum neighborhoods; the second would examine slum neighborhoods rather more conventionally, with emphasis still on dissolving the myth of what they are like, describing the "web of community relationships," pointing to the positive values, and the danger of dealing with its problems by clearing them out and substituting housing developments.

The City of Our Dreams

An examination of the 20th Century Utopia, covering the gamut from far-out ideas of Buckminster Fuller and the late Frank Lloyd Wright skyscraper town to the soon to be realized plans for Dallas, Texas, with references made to Brazilia and India's new capital developments along the way.

How to Live in a City

Will argue that achieving the good life in the city, despite outworn myths arising out of the small town past, is an art that we can master. Suggests that the program might take as examples the life of such disparate urbanites as a one-eyed cleaning woman in Brooklyn, and Billy Rose. This might be the point, Stoney suggests, at which we can meet Jane Jacobs, and discuss her ideas of city living.

Planners vs. Developers

Property values vs. human values. Proposes that this conflict might be viewed by examining several projects now in being which were built after much debate between the two forces, and match their predictions with results on each side.

Change and Continuity

Might be subtitled, "The Uses of the Past." Intention is to show that developing cities with a sense of continuity is something far more important and complex than simply preserving landmarks. The major theme here is that variety and diversity in the city must be maintained, which twentieth century planners have least successfully promoted.

How Things Get Done

An examination of civic renewal plans, and how they were developed and finally executed, focussing on how some creators of "grand designs" managed to overcome obstacles.

Washington -- Planner's Dream; Planner's Nightmare

Describing how a planned city responds to the problems arising out of technological change, with summary references to all the concerns included in the previous seven programs. Contrasts Georgetown as an example of successful urban renewal, to Southwest Washington, which illustrates the inherent weaknesses in the "bulldozer" approach.

The Program Committee's response to this memorandum was somewhat less than enthusiastic. As one member put it, "My reaction is that it is largely unrelated to all of the discussions we have had and unsuited to the purposes that we have in mind." Their concern, at this point, focussed on two major areas:

1. The proposed series did not raise issues sharply enough for an educational program which was intended to provide a basis for citizen discussion. As the committee chairman put it, "Granted that we and Mr. Stoney do not want a didactic, teaching film, his description of his intention seems to swing to the other extreme. To the extent that 'structure' is involved here, I think I prefer

something closer to a Beethoven sonota than to Debussy Impressionism."

The issue here is a familiar one, as old as the history of educational use of the film medium, a medium that has its own integrity as an art form. No one with any respect for that medium is pleased with the thousands of "educational films" produced in a great flood for use in the formal classroom; most of them are academic forms of the newsreel, which, Grierson acidly pointed out, "goes dithering on, mistaking the phenomenon for the thing itself." But, when the film is used artfully to express ideas, its dynamic often conflicts with the purpose of the educator, who wants to have the heat taken out of ideas so that the learner can consider them dispassionately and rationally. From the film-maker's point of view, the images he works with, no matter how beautiful, striking, or dramatic they may be, are neutral; the meaning, the idea, is developed by his selection and a juxtaposition of the images, emphasized and made more abstract by the spoken accompanying word. The film has impact to the extent that it expresses a point of view, an idea which the film-maker himself feels is important.

The "natural" course for the good documentarian, then, is to build films around a point of view he passionately believes in, and to regard opposing views as something that someone else had better make a film about. All of the classic documentaries of social problems do so (The River and The City, to cite two of the real classics) and it is difficult to think of an exception. Some of the most effective scenes, filmically, in the METROPOLIS series contrast images to make an ironic point for Stoney's thesis, for example, a picture of a well-designed, but deserted, United Nations Plaza followed by a shot of the teeming variety of Washington Square. See?, the commentary tells us, small open spaces which are in the center of things, which people find convenient and comfortable for a variety of activities, meet peoples' needs, where a large space, no matter how well-designed, can be sterile and useless. The film does not stop to reflect, or to permit New Yorkers who are familiar with the area to reflect, on the problems and fears about the Square which one occasionally reads about in newspapers, nor should it have. It has made a perfectly valid point, and one could argue that it is the task of a discussion guide to raise the doubts one should consider about the absolute truth of that point.

Yet, the possibility that a good film can illuminate a conflict in values as well as it can present a particular point of view is suggested by several of the METROPOLIS series, notably one which is not among those Stoney originally proposed, though one of the titles is retained for it. "How Things Get Done" is the story of a determined non-professional woman who mounts a campaign to clear an area of lower-midtown New York, presently the home of old, run-down commercial buildings, and put in its place a planned middle-income housing community. A city survey showed, however, that the commercial institutions involved were far from marginal, and gave employment to a sizeable number of citizens desperately in need of jobs. Should the city risk losing the businesses and the jobs, in favor of keeping and attracting middle-class residents in the urban core? No one in the film can conceivably be regarded as a villain, everyone is operating on the basis of acceptable and important values, and it is one of those excruciating dilemmas that drive city officials out of their minds.

2. An equally important point of difference is evident merely by contrasting Stoney's outline with the earlier Kaufman memorandum. Kaufman's outline, and the earlier proposals as well, considered a very broad range of urban problems, only one aspect of which concerned space utilization and architecture, and included crime, education, personal dimensions of the good life, and a number of other issues of urbanism. Stoney's suggestions concentrate almost entirely on living space and urban design; even where he confronts such an issue as urban power, he sees it in terms of "how does urban re-development happen?" rather than as a more general problem of city government and the distribution of power. As several members of the Program Committee later noted, the outline, and indeed, the finished films, shows the very strong influence of Jane Jacobs and not much else.

This difference of view reflects a more general conflict between urban planners and sociologically-oriented diagnoses of urban problems. As Nathan Glazer has recently pointed out, Mumford and Jacobs, whatever their differences, do agree on one central assumption: that the ills of the city result from faulty design of the environment, that once we have determined the optimum design, the good life will follow. Such a view obviously neglects the possibility that crime, delinquency, prejudice, anomie, the mass culture, social alienation, political conflict, and a host of other problems relate more clearly to a set of variables little influenced by design.

Shortly after Stoney submitted his outline, the Program Committee met with him for an exchange of views. The reactions to this meeting were apparently mixed. Several participants from the academic side of the fence regard it as one of the most stimulating educational planning meetings they were ever privileged to attend. Others consider it a futile exercise, in view of the results. In any event, a memorandum issued May, 1963, which outlined the content of the series, shows almost exactly the same structure as Stoney's original outline, though in a different order. In June, this content outline was used, without change, in a memorandum from Henry Alter, at NET, to television station managers, advising them of the coming series.

In a month, Stoney made available a more detailed outline for the series, with specific plans for the locale of the various films. Confronted with Program Committee objections that the metropolitan area was being slighted in a concentration on the central city, and that the series lost its national implications by excluding material on middle-Western and Western communities, Stoney made several changes in both content and locale. The original emphasis on Eastern cities was primarily a matter of expense, and he agreed to broaden the area of coverage to some extent at least.

Stoney himself wishes the films had better realized his own original vision of them, but is surprised, a year later, to discover that they so greatly differed from the expectations of the Program Committee. The emphasis on urban space problems, he reports, resulted simply from a lack of time and money; he would much have preferred to develop the important themes of urbanism, as he saw them, in terms of character, which requires expensive film treatment. Even as they were, the films would have been better, he feels, if things had one more smoothly. Among other problems, the directors he had chosen to make the series deserted the project as it was about to start, and he lost the key production man with whom he was accustomed to work.

Stoney's impression is that he wrote the original treatment for the series without having seen Kaufman's memorandum, though his "Notes on a Film Series" quotes from it. He does recall with greater certainty that he never saw the original university proposals until the Minneapolis meeting with the Program Committee in May, 1963, a conference which he perceives to have been a successful meeting of minds, aside from one or two relatively minor objections to his plans for the films. Any hypothesis that some early static in the communications between the Committee and Stoney accounts for the differences in view about what the films should have been, however, is untenable. Stoney makes it clear that there are many problems and themes in urbanism which he considers unsuitable to the film medium, and from this perspective, it seems unlikely that the academics' original conception of the series would have been completely fulfilled under any circumstances.

At the meeting of the Program Committee in August, 1963, there was still talk of a film showing a confrontation between Robert Moses and Lewis Mumford, and of the possibility of using, as additional material, several films edited out of the Mumford series on the city which the National Film Board of Canada produced. These plans were shortly abandoned, and the final series consisted of eight films produced by Stoney, made during the five months that followed the August meeting.

A brief outline of the films in the series, as they finally emerged, is given below; they are described in greater detail in the Viewers Guide, reproduced in its entirety in Appendix B. Keeping in mind the developmental history, one can see that the Program Committee did manage to influence the final product, but not very much. The concentration, even more overwhelmingly than before, is on design and space, but issues are a little more sharply raised and the locales are more varied.

1. How to Look at a City. A film essay, by Professor Raskin of Columbia, on how the metropolis can provide not only the opportunities for which people come to it, but can fill human needs for friendship and love. Discusses variations in density, variety, and human scale, using New York as an example. (Original intention was to see the city through the eyes of a variety of people, in order to discover the range of conflicts in values in both large and small American cities.)

2. Run from Race. Problems of urban renewal, using Philadelphia as an example, focussing on the conflict between desires to upgrade city areas and the problem created for the Negro by renewal efforts. (A new idea that is not in either of Stoney's early outlines, more relevant than some to the readings.)

3. The Fur-Lined Foxhole. The problems of suburban living, filmed mainly in the Mid-west. Outlines the reasons most people move out of the central city, their disappointments and problems when they get to the suburb. Primary focus on the new suburb, and on the conclusion that despite the difficulties, most suburbanites find a style of living that attracts them. (Original intention was to contrast the core city with the suburbs, deal with the rural "myth," class motivations, race consciousness, education, etc. Devoting the whole film to the suburb shows effect of pressure, possibly, from the Committee.)

4. Private Dream, Public Nightmare. Filmed in and around Los Angeles, a study of the effects of spread housing, and the nightmarish "slurb." Suggests a partial solution in the efforts of large developers who can plan whole communities, control density, and build in variety. (Not in either of the two Stoney outlines.)

5. How Things Get Done. The problem for city officials faced with alternative proposals for urban redevelopment and land use. A case study of the Houston Street area in New York, and the determined efforts of a woman to persuade the city to redevelop it as a middle-class housing community. (Originally suggested in Stoney's first memorandum, dropped in the second version.)

6. What Will They Tear Down Next? A plea for the retention of the best of the old in the process of rebuilding our cities, instead of indiscriminately tearing everything down. Filmed around Troy and Schenectady, New York. (In one form or another, is in both of Stoney's proposals.)

7. How to Live in a City. A study of the use of urban open spaces, using New York as an example. Argues that the design of such space should conform to criteria having mainly to do with human function and scale. (Originally, the title was to be used for a film dealing with the art of urban living, and new meanings for the urban "good life." This is the most vivid example of how concepts of space took over and substituted for sociological ones.)

8. Three Cures for a Sick City. A description of three different approaches to urban renewal which were tried in Washington, D.C., and the design and human questions each of them raises. (Originally "Washington: Planner's Dream; Planner's Nightmare" in the first proposal, kept without change in the second.)

The Readings

The second major element in the multi-media package is a book of readings, Metropolis: Values in Conflict, published by Wadsworth. Its development can be described briefly; it was a simpler matter by far than the production of a series of films, for obvious reasons.

The idea of a set of readings to accompany whatever visual materials could be developed was part of the earliest thinking of the Program Committee. In the May, 1962, memorandum from Liveright suggesting goals for the first meeting of the Committee, one finds the suggestion that a collection of readings would be desirable, and the mention of an interest in such a collection by the editor of a new magazine. The October meeting of the Council itself appointed a subcommittee on Readings, consisting of Freedman and Davis, who reported several months later to the Program Committee that a tentative outline was ready, and a publisher found.

Freedman, for several years, had edited a series of readings for Wadsworth intended for general adult discussion groups interested in current affairs. He suggested to the publishers that a book of readings on urban problems and controversies would fit well the purpose of the previous volumes, and they agreed. This is a good example of an element one finds at many points in the development of the total project, the use of existing relationships of many different kinds to move the project ahead and to compensate for the lack of a financial base for the program.

As a result of discussions of the outline for the readings at the December meeting of the Planning Committee, Freedman submitted a memorandum in January, 1963, which presented a detailed plan of topics and value conflicts, summarized below:

Part I: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Backgrounds

The extend and pace of urbanization, historical backgrounds, definitions of city, metropolis, magapolis, etc.

Chapter 2: Underlying Value Conflicts

Rural/small town views of the city, the contemporary criticisms of urban and suburban life as corrupting, controversies over what values should be embodied in city life.

Part II: URBANISM AND THE GOOD LIFE

Chapter 3: Planning: By Whom, and For What?

What should the the relative influence of public officials and private interests be; what criteria for planning should be used by public bodies. Questions of zoning, central city vs. the suburbs, recreational facilities, etc.

Chapter 4: Urban Design

Value questions relating to the use of master plans, the role of the architect, balance between modern and traditional designs, the allocation of open space, etc. With particular reference to experiences outside the U.S., for example, London and Brazilia.

Chapter 5: The City as Cultural and Intellectual Center

Presents the basic case for the city as a concentration of talent and ferment of ideas, and the dissents to this view from those who argue that urban life produces professionals and spectators at the expense of participation, that it reduces the possibility of contemplation, that it creates a mass culture inimical to real art and culture.

Chapter 6: The Automobile and its Consequences

Conflicts between individual and social values, status, mobility, independence vs. traffic problems, urban sprawl, pollution, etc. Should public resources be concentrated on developing public transportation, or on improving mobility for private auto?

Part III: SOCIAL ISSUES IN URBANISM

Chapter 7: Redevelopment

The value conflicts that emerge from such issues as slum clearance vs. rehabilitation, government vs. private development, relocation, rent subsidies, concentration vs. scattering of public housing, social class hetrogeneity vs. homogeneity of redevelopment neighborhoods, etc.

Chapter 8: The Population Mix

The values of diversity vs. assimilation, the relation of minority groups to the urban political process, de facto school segregation, problems of equipping rural migrants with the resources necessary for urban life.

Chapter 9: Social Disorganization

The arguable relationship of urbanism to crime, delinquency, mental illness, alienation. Problems of family structure and the aged in an urban setting. Examination of countervailing trends toward new forms of community values, new types of social integration.

Part IV: GOVERNING THE URBAN AREAS

Chapter 10: The Battle of Jurisdictions

Local autonomy vs. regional planning; interest groups and urban government; urban representation in state governments.

Chapter 11: Urban Finances in an Affluent Society

Public services as an underdeveloped area of the economy; questions of whether the suburbs are paying their share of urban costs, which taxes are appropriate, federal aid directly to urban services.

Chapter 12: Power in the City

How much power concentration is there in an urban elite? Are patterns of power changing? Is the individual powerless, or can he influence events through interest groups? What values are represented by party government, by non-partisanship, by city-manager forms of government?

Part V: CONCLUSION

Chapter 13: The City of the Future

Should we try to reverse the trend toward vast urban conglomorations? Should new cities be created? By what criteria. What values are implicit in the various proposals from architects and planners for the cities of the future?

Since this memorandum preceded by several months Stoney's submission of his outline for the film series, it is easy to see why Freedman in particular was much disturbed by the plans for the films. The book of readings he envisaged would be very relevant to the earlier suggestions for the films and to the NET proposal, but bore little resemblance to Stoney's. By May of 1963, however, as Stoney's intentions were crystallized and embodied in descriptions of the series sent to station managers, the Committee resigned itself to the lack of correspondence between the two major media vehicles of the program, and proceeded with the development of the readings as planned. By August, a tentative outline of the reading selections themselves, organized under essentially the same series of major topics, was ready for submission to the Council. (See Appendix C for the Table of Contents of the final version.)

In fact, Freedman's task was not an easy one. Published materials for many of the topics in the outline turned out to be widely scattered, difficult to find, and not very useful for discussion purposes. He had difficulty finding qualified academics willing to take on the editing task who shared his views of the purpose of the readings, and faced the not unusual problem of persuading his editors to meet deadlines; in this case, however, the deadlines were not merely publisher's schedules, but part of an increasingly tight plan that looked toward the simultaneous production of a number of complex materials by the winter of 1964. The deadline was met, and the readings were available, with time to spare, for the beginning of the TV showings in the spring.

Utilization Plans

As early as summer 1962 several major decisions were made that considerably influenced the development of utilization plans for the series. One of these was that, without regard to the question of future Council membership, the Committee should attempt to involve other universities in the planning and execution phases of the project, the original idea having been to develop a program primarily for member universities. The second was the decision to include a NET representative in the planning subcommittee which was assigned the task of working on utilization. NET's Henry Alter, who is responsible for that organization's efforts to build educational activities around its television programs, became an active member of the Program Committee, and brought to its work not only an energetic and experienced helping hand, but the kind of personal touch in organizing efforts which only his strenuous travel schedule could provide.

At the October 1962 meeting of the Council a subcommittee on utilization was appointed (members were Chamberlain, Curtis, and Liveright) which was to work with Alter on developing plans; its first outline of those plans appeared by December. An examination of these earliest plans provides an interesting comparison with the final program.

The subcommittee agreed, at this point, to seek two different kinds of participation in the program. The first would involve a group of institutions designated as the experimental-target group, and include the ten University Council members plus ten other institutions invited to participate in the full experimental program. They suggested as criteria for the selection of these universities the following requirements: existence of an ETV station; location in an urban area; an operating and qualified extension or adult education department with some experience in mass media programming; potentiality for future Council membership; demonstrated interest and activity in the area of urbanism. Although the idea of a special experimental group was later abandoned, it is interesting to note that of the fourteen universities they suggested as qualifying under most of these criteria only five later mounted programs.

The second type of participation was to include institutions in all communities served by ETV stations. At this early stage the difference between the two groups was seen primarily as involving efforts on the part of the Council of different intensity; representatives of the first group would be brought to a meeting for briefing sessions, and would be followed up individually, while institutions cooperating on a general basis would be briefed through the mail and through printed packets and brochures. Further, although NET would follow its usual scheduling procedures for the latter group, it would provide the films for the experimental cities during the first three weeks that the program was available.

The subcommittee suggested a number of program ideas to build public interest in the series, and to aid local utilization efforts. Among them:

The book of readings
A travelling panel of lecturers, made available to the experimental group, composed of experts on urbanism

Cooperation with national organizations interested in the problem, to organize local discussion groups and listening posts
Cooperation with the American Book Publishers Council and the American Library Association, to influence local bookstores and libraries to set up special displays of books
Cooperation with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, to arrange follow-up programs on FM stations
Arrangements with local newspapers for feature stories at the time of program showings
Development of magazine stories and articles on urbanism, scheduled for appearance at the time of the program
Major TV network documentaries.

Also agreed on was the need for a utilization manual, to be prepared by the subcommittee, suggesting how local institutions might utilize the series most effectively, and a brochure describing the programs. Curtis was assigned to work on Canadian utilization by arranging for TV outlets in Vancouver and Toronto, and discussing with the Canadian Association of Adult Education and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation possibilities for carrying the program on a Canadian-wide hook-up.

During the year that followed the outlining of these proposals, their shape changed in many respects, and underwent both contractions and expansions. One important general conclusion should be noted at this point, before summarizing these changes and the ultimate outcome; what gave continuity to all the utilization efforts was the provision, by both NET and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, of staff resources and, indirectly, funds. It is unlikely that so much could have been accomplished in a relatively short period of time without this kind of direct institutional effort, which backstopped the necessarily fragmentary voluntary contributions of time and effort by Program Committee members.

The most important change in the original plans was the gradual elimination of some of the more ambitious aspects of the utilization proposals, many of which have the sound of suggestions which come up in "bright idea sessions" and are often too difficult to implement. Perhaps the most serious of these idea drop-outs was the original intention of concentrating efforts on a relatively small group of 20 universities, the experimental-target group. There is little question of the soundness of the idea; no one who has worked at getting local institutional adoption of national program ideas has anything but a healthy respect for the principle of personal involvement. Nor, in this case, would such a program have been very expensive. It was apparently, however, expensive enough to be prohibitive. Lack of funds also aborted a plan to send a CSLEA staff member to accompany Alter on visits to selected cities, to set up local meetings of university and TV station representatives.

None of the proposals having to do with cooperative efforts by commercial mass-media ever came off. The failure of the negotiations with the TV networks has been described earlier, and one finds little in the written record indicating efforts to arrange for other national effort; it is doubtful that such an end has ever been accomplished without very large resources of staff, money, or influence.

One of the most interesting and significant threads of the development of utilization plans is the effort to involve national organizations with roots in the communities in which the films were to be shown. Since much of the effort of this study itself is devoted to describing the associational networks in local communities that became involved in the program, it is useful to note here the organizations which responded with interest at the national level:

1. NET itself, of course, is a national organization in continuous contact with most of the educational TV stations throughout the country. At the end of June, 1963, Alter sent to all Program Directors a memorandum announcing the Metropolis series (the contract with Stoney had just been signed), and discussing the plans for utilization. Attached to the memorandum was a copy of a letter to all the members of several associations of university adult educators. Stations were urged to contact their local university, and informed of the later availability of educational aids such as the book of readings, the utilization manual, and the promotional brochure.

2. At the same time, CSLEA sent a letter, enclosing a copy of that memorandum to Program Directors, to all universities belonging to the Association of University Evening College, the National University Extension Association, and the Canadian Association of Directors of Extension and Summer Schools. This communication described the purposes of the Council and the

various components of the program on urbanism, including a brief description of the films, as then conceived. A month later the Center reported that is had received 39 replies to the letter, indicating interest in the series and some intention of developing a local program by the writer. Interested institutions were invited to attend the Miami meeting of the Adult Education Association in November to preview one of the films.

3. The Canadian Association for Adult Education took over the sponsorship of the series in Canada, and supplemented the letter from the Center to CADESS with a memorandum to a wider circle of organizations. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had agreed to run the film series, not on its entire network but in the cities of some size, and the Association made the films available on a rental basis to communities outside the CBC coverage. The literature urged that the films be followed by at least a half hour of local programming, preferably devoted to relating the films to the local situation.

4. One of the most promising of the associational channels into the local community turned out to be several religious bodies, notably the National Council of the Churches of Christ. Its Department of the Urban Church expressed an early interest in the program, and John Wagner, Jr., the director, wrote to leaders of local councils in October, 1963, announcing the program and urging them to make use of the broadcasts to organize discussion groups on the problems of urbanism. He also asked them to contact the

local university, and supplied them with a list of the names of those who had expressed interest in the program in response to the CSLEA memorandum sent out earlier. The National Council of Protestant Episcopal Churches also became interested, and sent a memorandum to Episcopal college workers, bringing the program to their attention and suggesting ways of cooperating with local stations. The series was featured in the Spring 1964 issue of Church in Metropolis, a quarterly publication of the Urban Church Program of the Episcopal Church, in Social Action, a publication of the United Church of Christ, and publicized in other ways by church bodies.

5. Early in the planning, Committee members showed acute awareness of the possibility of working through organizations which were already actively interested in urban problems, and in city planning. At one point, several members of the Committee met with officers of the Regional Plan Association in New York to discuss their extremely effective organizational effort at developing an educational program around a series of five TV programs on city planning. By the time the program was launched, however, only two national organizations apart from the church associations, were actively engaged in promoting local action on the program: the League of Women Voters, and ACTION, Inc., which distributed unilization manuals to its local associates.

As the deadline of March, 1964, approached, the complete program package was put together. The films were ready for their cycling through the network, and Wadsworth had published the readings, with an accompanying instructor's guide containing discussion questions. The Viewer's Guide (see Appendix B) had been written by Henry Lipman of New York University, and supplied brief descriptions of each film and questions for discussion relevant to them.

Alter's Utilization Manual had been reviewed in draft form at the October '63 meeting of the Council, and was ready for distribution shortly thereafter. It provided, in admirably succinct form, a variety of useful tools for the local programmer:

> A note on the development of the program, and descriptions of the various components, the readings, the films, the viewer's guide, the discussion leader's manual. Notes on the content of each of the films, and the Table of Contents of the readings, are included.
>
> Organizations and their addresses, from which the materials might be obtained, and the prices.
>
> A map showing the location of NET affiliates, and the location of member institutions of the University Council.
>
> A list of suggested activities that might be locally attempted, and a note on working with national organizations, with particular reference to the National Council of Churches, and ACTION.
>
> A suggested timetable for local planners wishing to develop a program.
>
> A general list of national organizations interested in urban problems.

Of particular interest, in the context of the present study, are the suggestions for specific local programming formats and devices, reproduced below:

Formation of faculty advisory committees. Many different departments within a university or college are concerned with various aspects of urban living. Their interests should be determined and their cooperation sought. As a consequence of such involvement, one member of the University Council suggested, the program could result in a kind of sustained "feed-back" that could affect teaching and learning in the academic departments.

Stimulation of various university department to develop exhibits, drama, art, etc. that would tie-in with the series.

Formation of committee-wide steering committees. The reason for this step is obvious. It is especially recommended because of the demonstrated interest of many of the churches, and of other organizations.

Cooperation with social studies teachers and the public schools in general.

Resource persons. Local and national experts on various aspects of the program could be brought in, either in person or through Tele-lecture. Where feasible, cooperation among several institutions could result in the joint use of such experts who might be scheduled for a "circuit."

Articles and statements. All types of local and regional publications should be contacted with a view toward publishing articles and news stories that would focus public attention upon the program.

Development of experimental TV feed-back or talk-back programs. This obviously depends on the prior decision by an ETV station to produce a local program or programs. This has been suggested to all such stations in June, 1963. Educators should contact the ETV station with regard to these plans.

Listing of other resources through libraries. This is a very promising device, as libraries often cooperate extremely well with ETV by arranging book exhibits, mailing out or posting reading lists, and, in some cases, organizing viewing-discussion groups in library branches.

Assuming that a "burning local issue" on any aspect of urbanism exists, development of panel programs, symposia, debates, featuring community leaders on all sides.

Residential institutes. Where such institutes are a tradition, the subject lends itself well to this treatment. It will be remembered that the films may be rented or borrowed outside the broadcast schedule for such purposes, and also for lectures and other non-broadcast uses.

Development of film-lecture series. There are many excellent films on urban problems that may be rented at moderate cost. A series of lectures combined with film showings to supplement the "core" program appears to be one of the easiest kinds of concurrent programming. (See, for example, "Films About the City," by Violet Frances Myer, in Film News, Vol. XX, No. 3, 1963.)

Local photographic groups might conduct a contest for the best picture interpretation of the city. The various pictures entered in the contest might then form an exhibit. If the pictures were blown up to a considerable size, they would be a valuable, permanent addition to the locality's interpretation of its city.

An interesting activity might be a dinner bringing together the different groupings with distinct ethnic, race or folk backgrounds. A large auditorium might be obtained for this purpose and each group urged to develop a menu for the evening representative of the food customs of its ethnic background. A central feature of such an evening could be a look at the values of diversity.

Local "kickoff" meetings bringing prominent individuals to the area will help to attract attention and publicize the forthcoming program. The U.S. Congress usually takes a recess for a week in February, around Lincoln's birthday, and the recess is a good time to secure Senators or Representatives for a local program.

The local newspaper, in addition to carrying a feature story, might devote its "public forum" page one day a week or more to letters from its readers, asking its readers to comment on one or more aspects of the city which they find uniquely appealing and vital.

A traveling exhibit, perhaps in an old school bus or trailer, could be moved from one section of the city to another during the life of the urbanism program to bring central ideas to the attention of the people in the different parts of the city.

Finally, as the series was already underway, Alter produced a brief summary of the situation at the point at which this study begins its assessment of what happened:

> 58 affiliates of NET had booked the series for the spring (later to mount to 67)

96 universities received Metropolis materials (beyond the original mailings to about 50)
33 churches or councils participating
56 local group associates of ACTION received utilization manuals
1,120 local chapters of the League of Women Voters received basic program information, some have requested quantities of study materials
31 locations have previewed one of the films
985 Utilization manuals distributed
53,000 flyers distributed by NET and 20,000 by Wadsworth
1,600 Viewer's Guides shipped
250 Discussion Leader Guides distributed by NET alone

Viewed as a whole, this is a remarkable package of materials and plans to be put together in 20 months by a small group of people in their spare time. What is perhaps most remarkable, to return to an earlier comment, is how much of it depended on ingenuity, improvisation, and the use of an existing network of relationships among adult educators.

II. THE UTILIZATION PICTURE -- A SYNOPSIS

This section provides a brief overview of the educational use of the Metropolis package, in whole or in part. The rough categorizations of utilizations below are made on the basis of intentions rather than fulfillment; those cities in which an institution set up the machinery for community discussion groups, for example, are included under category C, whether or not those plans actually materialized, as in many cases they did not.

The table on the following page indicates for each city which developed a program the types of activity it planned:

A. Primary additions to the televised showings in the form of studio panels. These almost invariably followed the film, and ran for half an hour.

B. Advanced additions to the televised showings. These included either live or taped local footage, the use of telephone for television audience questions, etc.

C. Involvement of the public in systematic consideration of the problems discussed in the films, primarily through attempts to organize discussion groups, or parallel academic formats such as lecture series or courses.

D. Selective involvement of community groups relevant to action on urban issues, city officials, planning groups, etc.

	Panels	Other Studio	Public Involvement	Selective Involvement
Akron	x		x	
Austin			x	
Boston	x		x	
Calgary	x	x	x	
Hartford	x	x		
Los Angeles			x	x
Madison	x	x	x	
Memphis	x		x	
New Orleans	x			
New York			x	
North Carolina (statewide)			x	x
Oklahoma City			x	
Omaha	x		x	
Peoria	x			
Portland			x	x
Sacramento	x			
Salt Lake City	x	x		
San Francisco	x		x	
Seattle	x		x	
Toronto	x	x	x	
Troy-Schenectady			x	
Vancouver	x	x	x	
Winnipeg	x	x		

Note: Memphis, Salt Lake City, and most Canadian stations omitted the second film, "Run From Race."

In addition to these, there are three cities which might be classified as "aborts"; university personnel in each of them did a considerable amount of planning for programs which were cancelled, for various reasons, at the last moment. They are: Minneapolis, Syracuse, and Windsor, Ontario. There are an additional twenty cities in which university representatives were interested enough to respond to the original inquiry from CSLEA, but did not proceed into any planning.

Thus, the very real potential of the project included a total of 46 cities, in roughly half of which some attempt was made to mount a program, with varying degrees of success. The aspect of most immediate interest in the list of those who did is that only two of them, New York and Los Angeles, are among the ten cities with the largest population in the U.S. Furthermore, the program in New York failed to come off at all, and Los Angeles, lacking an educational TV station at the time, offered only a few small discussion groups based on the book of readings. One of the most curious results of the project, then, is the finding that a program on metropolitan problems, embodying materials which concentrated on big city issues and images, made its greatest appeal educationally to small or medium size cities, few of which could reasonably be called metropoli at all.

In this result an illustration of the anomie which urban analysts attribute to the metropolis, do we confront a closed circle in which the very ills of metropolitan life that need thoughtful discussion inhibit the possibility of initiating the discussion? Although this is an attractive speculation, the success of the New York Regional Plan Association in developing listening-post discussion groups for a series of readings and television programs in 1963, the St. Louis Metroplex Assembly, and other programs carried out in the ten most populous metropolitan areas, suggest that one must look for other hypotheses. It should be pointed out, however, that the Regional Plan Association employed a staff and a group of consultants for almost a year, and spent $75,000 on organizing its discussion groups; the Metroplex Assembly was the result of the full-time effort of a staff of three, aided by a group of volunteers, with an annual budget of almost $100,000. The reasonable conclusion appears to be that large metropolitan areas can sustain organized educational efforts, but only when consistent and expensive energy is applied, resources which the Council simply did not have.

The evidence we have, in letters from university personnel in the major cities, seems to indicate mainly that people were too busy to undertake the considerable amount of effort required to plan community education programs under the pressures of time generated by NET's precise scheduling of the series. For example, the University of Pennsylvania, in the fourth largest city in the country, a city which was the subject of one of the eight Metropolis films, reports only some puzzlement about why it did not mount a program. "I remember the Metropolis series well. As I recall, I contacted our educational station and was informed that they intended to run it locally. At the time of my note to you manifesting an interest in the series, I must have had some campus implementation in mind. At this point, I don't recall what it was. I am sure this is not a really satisfactory answer for your purposes; but if we elected to do nothing, it was merely due to the pressure of events and the already-heavy demands on this office. We try not to let a good bet -- which this was -- get past us, but apparently we did in your case. We just don't have the horses to follow through on everything."

This response put more articulately than most an explanation which perhaps a third of the institutions gave for failing to follow through an original interest. It is probable that if the Council had been able to finance the kind of personal contact with the field which it had in mind at the beginning, many of these institutions would have developed a program. Indeed, Alter suggests that if one considers the list of university representatives who attended the presentation which he and Haygood of CSLEA made in November, 1963, at the meeting of the Association of University Evening Colleges, virtually all of the strong Metropolis programs in medium-sized cities is traceable to that one personal contact with the field.

A more serious cause for an equal proportion of failures to get off the ground involves the link with a television station.

In eight cities for which we have data, and probably more for which we do not, some problem with television facilities arose. In several cases, there was no available ETV station, and attempts to negotiate with the commercial outlet failed. The University of Chattanooga, for example, planned to present a program in cooperation with its local commercial station, which, at the last moment, decided it could not participate. "The decision was based on the fact that it was extremely interested in an election to determine whether or not Chattanooga and Hamilton County would be governed as one metropolitan unit and wished to provide as much coverage as possible of the issues involved." It is hard to tell whether the writer of that letter intended to convey the irony which the statement expresses.

A response from the University of Windsor reports a more detailed frustration, with some indignation:

> "From the time I returned from Boston and was first acquainted with the objective and the materials of the program, I did considerable running around and telephoning in an effort to get a local T.V. station to carry the project. In an interview with the station manager and the program director, I was cordially received, and was given to understand that there was some enthusiasm on their part.
>
> "Since we are located across the river from Detroit, I checked to see that there would be no conflict in this area with local universities in the U.S. Then, I had a pilot film of one of the segments sent to the station and I went there for a viewing, along with the program director. Again, he was enthusiastic, but since that time, all my efforts to contact him have failed. I have phoned him many times and left messages for him to call me on his return but have received no reply. I wrote to him about this difficulty and have not received any answer. All this ended about six months ago.

> "In the initial project, I had agreed to provide commentary to precede each broadcast. Furthermore, I had agreed to assemble a panel of local experts to mount a project after the fourth film and again at the conclusion of the series. These people have become soured on the project because I had been so enthusiastic and had supplied them with materials which all came to nothing. I would not have the heart to start it all over again."

The absence of an ETV station postponed the realization of a set of imaginative and ambitious plans at Syracuse. A staff member of the University's adult division spent a month and a half developing program plans in cooperation with the Maxwell School's Metropolitan Studies Center, which was prepared to set up panels to provide local application for the films. He met with a number of community organizations such as the League of Women;s Voters to lay plans for viewing groups, which would be supplied with the book of readings. The resources of the Humanistic Studies Center were enlisted to train discussion leaders from various organizations. The University itself was prepared to support the costs, honoraria and training, and arrangements were made to have discussion leaders not only trained in the technical part of their task, but to provide time for them to study the content of the films and readings with the Maxwell School faculty before the airing. All of this came to nothing when none of the local commercial stations would agree to show the films in anything but what the University people considered "ghetto time."

But this account of frustration by commercially-motivated stations has its counterparts in educational television. New York's

ETV station, which had originally turned down the possibility of cooperating with the Regional Plan Association, would not schedule the series in a time slot for which viewing groups might reasonably be planned. In Minneapolis, where one staff member hoped to develop, in addition to faculty panels before and after the film showings, seminars held in citizens' homes chaired by faculty members, the films were finally shown without any added programming because, at the last moment, the ETV station, which is not an affiliate of NET, decided that it would compete with a local series on Minneapolis.

The final section of this report will re-examine these data and attempt to formulate some recommendations for future use of multi-media programming that take account of the problems involved in failures such as these, as well as the success stories.

The development of the Canadian programs deserves a special note, since a different associational network was involved. The Canadian Association of Adult Education had for many years used radio programs on a basis for involving citizens' groups in the discussion of important issues, and three years ago decided to turn to TV. A Canadian member of the Program Committee acted as liaison with CAAE, which wrote to the extension departments of Canadian universities, as well as to the large volunteer organizations, advising them of the release of the series, and suggesting that local groups persuade their TV outlets to add an extra half hour of time for local programming, to help make the series pertinent to Canadian cities.

The following cities accepted the program: Montreal, Toronto, Halifax, Sioux Ste. Marie, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Calgary. Vancouver had used the series before the CAAE entered the picture, and Curtis, the member of the Countil's Program Committee, who is now in Ottowa, has a set of the prints and intends to develop a program later. In Montreal, the films were shown by an English TV station which made its own arrangements with NET, and the series was introduced by Father O'Connor of the Thomas More Institute, but little was done beyond this. Sioux Ste. Marie did no additional programming, though the series was sponsored in that city by the Town planning Board. CAAE staff point out that it is not a metropolitan area, and although some local persons hoped to use the series to encourage some voluntary action, they have not heard if there was any such response. In Halifax, a port city in the Maritimes, Dalhousie University widely publicized the airing of Metropolis and, although there was no additional programming, the university people are reported to be "quite happy with the program." Edmonton's privately-operated station would not provide any extra time, and very little apparently happened there.

CAAE staff members involved in the program are discouraged by the results of their efforts; this was their first cooperative venture with NET, and they originally felt confident and ready to undertake more such programs, but "we had an enormous volume of correspondence -- we shipped stuff all over the country -- with what turned out to be a very small number of programs; it wouldn't be feasible to do such a thing again. It took a lot of cajoling, even pleading." They point to the following reasons for what they feel is a disappointing experience: 1) CBC would not broadcast the series except in the relatively few large cities of Canada; 2) Canadian customs regulations make it incredibly difficult to work with non-Canadian organizations; they had infinite complications with legal rights; 3) traditionally, TV time in Canada is likely to be used for lectures, when it is used educationally; since there are no networks large enough to compete with CBC, it feels little compulsion to do any different kinds of public service offerings.

Our data from Toronto, Calgary, and Winnipeg, included in this study, reveal the use of some very interesting program ideas, far more ingenious than many of the American programs, as one might expect in a country with a great deal more experience in making community educational use of mass media. It is a matter for some regret that legal and social barriers make unlikely future cooperation on large scale public affairs programs of this kind.

Peripheral Utilization

Although the study concentrated on the patterns of use which were planned around television showings of the film series, it is important to note that the components of the package were available for other uses at other times. The book is being sold on the open market, and the films are deposited for purchase and rental at Indiana University.

The publisher of the readings reports that during the period covered by this study (spring and summer, 1964), 4,000 copies of the book were sold to bookstores, primarily those serving colleges and universities. (By September, 1964, 10,250 copies were in print.) He made available a list of all institutions whose bookstores had purchased the book in quantities or 10 or more copies, which provides a general picture of probable group use. Though interesting, the list does not lend itself to interpretation. Of the 55 university bookstores on the list, 14 are in cities where we know some educational use of the televised series was either planned or carried through. In a few instances it is possible to identify a university use which we came across in the course of interviewing. San Jose State College, for example, offered a credit course on urban problems, arranging for broadcast of the series on a local commercial station.

The remaining 41 college bookstores which ordered multiple copies may have been supplying discussion groups about which we know nothing, but the likelihood is rather that they were used as supplementary texts for regular college courses. Our interviews picked up enough information about specific instructors who were using the readings as a text to support this judgment.

The accompanying list of only six orders from non-college sources for multiple copies of the book suggests that we are not overlooking some undiscovered trove of living room discussion groups activated by notices from the national headquarters of a church or other membership group. We occasionally learned from some respondent that he had vague knowledge of a group of church members or League of Women Voters who were viewing the films and discussing them; we were almost never able to chase down these references, and Wadsworth's data indicate that if there _were_ many of these informal groups, they did not use the readings for their discussions.

The film series provided a more fertile field for a study of the post-television use of the materials. By May, 1965, the Film Center at Indiana University had sold about four sets of the films to libraries (and one to the Department of Conservation in North Carolina), had provided about 50 preview prints of each of the films, and had rented approximately the same number. Many of the rentals were to high schools and colleges, but a considerable number went to such interesting institutions as the Old Swedish Church in Wilmington, the County of Los Angeles Probation Department, and the American Friends Committee in Dayton.

On the assumption that such rentals indicate an adult group use on a scale sufficient to merit investigation, a questionnaire was dispatched to institutions which had rented at least one of the films, 120 in number.

We received replies from 33, a slightly better than 25% return. Since most of the institutions queried were university or high school audio-visual departments, and the majority of our returns were from other types of institutions, our data probably are much more representative of the non-academic renters than of the academic.

Eight respondents had used the entire series. Among the others, "The Run From Race" was the most popular, "How to Live in a City" the least. Fourteen respondents reported using one or more of the films in formal classrooms, 11 of these at the college level. The others included two state and national planning agencies, six community agencies (one of them a local board of realtors), and 10 conferences of various kinds, about half of which were church-related. These conferences included a church Urban Work Camp staff meeting, a meeting of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, and a conference of the United Church of Christ attended by representatives of 100 churches.

In answer to a question addressed to the adult groups about audience composition, seven reported the presence of public officials, six reported professionals in urban planning, and seven mentioned interested citizens. (There is considerable overlap here, as a number checked more than one of these types of person, and several audiences contained some of all three.)

In answer to a question about where they had heard of the films, the following sources were reported:

No. Reporting	
8	Indiana University promotion piece
5	read a review in a newspaper or magazine
5	saw the films on an educational TV station

3	a bibliography of films on urbanism distributed by HHFA
3	recommended by another person
2	a film library listing
1	through the University Council

Several of the church groups checked the second of these alternatives, which provides some measure of the lack of effectiveness of the widespread publicity given the series through church magazines and mailings.

A surprising number of respondents reported using or referring to one or another of the elements of the total package: seven used the book of readings, six the Viewer's Guide, six the leader's manual which Wadsworth supplied, and three the utilization manual. There were 14 cases in which a speaker or panel was used with the film. Again with considerable overlap, the following types of resource people were mentioned:

No. Reporting	
8	academics
5	community officials
5	technical planners, etc.
5	interested citizens
1	television professionals

Reports of audience reaction are almost entirely favorable, with only three respondents indicating some unfavorable response. All three cases were groups of planners and governmental officials, which supports our findings on the reactions of specific groups in the communities (see Section IV); planners in general were just unhappy about the series. Favorable reactions included:

No. Reporting	
22	stimulating nature of ideas
20	relevance of film to problems the group was interested in
8	technical competence of the film

To the question of whether the showings stimulated the group to any further action, the most popular response was to say that it led to further study of the problem, a category which 11 respondents checked. Four reported that it gave the group ideas for what the community ought to do, and two said that it led to the development of other educational programs. One university instructor felt that the series opened up new areas of thought for his class, and a high school instructor put the series on a request list for NDEA purchase. The one notable report of community action among the responses is from the Camden Metropolitan Ministry, which used almost the entire series for an informal discussion group, out of which came the organization of the Camden Housing Foundation, an effort to renew housing for the poor.

All of this suggests that the educational effect of the series and its accompanying materials was far from ended when the TV showings were completed, and that a later attempt to use national organizational channels might stimulate further educational activity for such a series.

III. THE PORTLAND STORY

The Portland Center of the Oregon State System of Higher Education developed and carried through one of the most lively, varied, and successful programs of all those examined by the study. We also have more data on it than are available for most of the other cities, as it was one of those chosen for detailed case study. Since the analysis in Section IV is organized around specific questions of interest to those in public affairs education, and consequently fragments the program activity in each particular community, we present the Portland story here in narrative form to provide a whole picture of at least one program.

The development of a Metropolis program in Portland is due entirely to the unflagging energy and imagination of one person, Andries Deinum, as indeed it is due to some other single person in many other cities. Deinum is a Netherlander interested in the design aspects of urban living, though his field is the film, which he teaches at the Portland Center, with professional rank in the Humanities Department. He reports that he began working intermittently on developing programs in urban life in 1960, in cooperation with several local architects. This led him, several years ago, to write a memorandum to the head of the Center, proposing a fairly elaborate design for a continuing educational effort in the general area of urbanism. He did not see this "as a 'special program,' or as a series of them, but as an all-encompassing effort involving the entire Extension Division, all its departments, all its educational media, all its key personnel, in some way."

His memorandum suggests that Extension must play the same role for the cities that Agricultural Extension did for rural America. "It is surely 'education for public responsibility' at its most relevant to combat urban apathy, to get more informed and wider participation in urban life." He argues for "an educational-cultural saturation bombing technique" to "appeal to different groups, different levels of education, and concern... We can use formal lecture series, informal discussions, the forum format, television, film screenings, etc. Pertinent books, for instance, could be discussed on our radio stations by civic leaders to whose duties they relate; the museum could have exhibitions in conjunction; the public library could issue book lists; the symphony orchestra could give a concert of 'urban music' such as Respighi's 'The Fountains of Rome'...in short, a flexible format into which we can weave all our resources and facilities so they work in harmony."

Deinum was asked to take the responsibility for carrying through his own suggestions, and out of this assignment a number of activities began to grow. One was a series of broadcasts of edited tapes of the Aspen conference on "Design and Environment," and a lecture series called "Impact of the City." The series included fifteen lectures on the visual, esthetic, and social dimensions of the urban environment, most of them by a profesor of architecture in the area. The titles of the lectures constitute almost a summary of the original academic proposals for the Metropolis series. Shortly thereafter, during Deinum's absence on a sabbatical, Portland's educational TV channel produced a number of programs vaguely based on memos he had supplied, and he supposed that this was the end of his urban responsibility and that on his return he would be able to get back to film.

But his return to Portland coincided with the beginning of the release of Metropolis, and with two events. One was an invitation to address the annual membership meeting of a local citizens' organization called Metropolitan Area Perspective, Inc. (MAP) about planning in the Netherlands, where he had just spent six months. The second was that he learned that the two educational channels in Oregon (both administered from the building in which he has his office) were going to broadcast the Metropolis series with no follow-up of any kind.

It happened that George Stoney, the film maker, was a personal friend of Deinum's, which directly interested him in the hopes of the Council and NET for the utilization of the series; he also knew well a number of members of MAP, architects, professors, civic officials, and community leaders. "It occurred to me," he recalls, "that my local friends and NET could help each other with me serving as middleman."

MAP, an important element in the story, was organized in 1961 as a non-profit corporation, to study the problems of public service and local government in the Portland metropolitan area, and to recommend steps to appropriate authorities that should be taken to improve governmental structures and services. It was immediately active in obtaining state legislation for the appointment of a metropolitan study commission, which began its work in 1963, and has sponsored a variety of forums and conferences on the problems of the community.

Deinum enlisted the organizational help of several of MAP's board members in the task of developing a community program. He reports that he was "reluctantly" given permission to see what he could do, and although he later received a great deal of help from his superior in the Center, the educational television staff gave no organizational aid at all.

Alter in New York arranged to send Portland a preview print of the first film in the series, and Deinum put it to good use, arranging a screening for local newspaper men, as well as for an assembly of social studies teachers in Portland high schools. Out of the latter meeting came a request to schedule the series during the afternoons as well as evenings, so the films could be discussed in the schools. The former resulted in an unexpected center spread in the Portland Oregonian's television section.

The newspaper had already (in the middle of March) run an editorial on the series, which had stimulated interest. The piece, entitled "Density of People," began by commenting on a recent Sierra Club bulletin on conservation, and went on to quote from Metropolis: Values in Conflict, the book of readings developed for the series. It ends with:

> Also encouraging is word that the Division of Continuing Education of the Oregon System of Higher Education has thought the question to be so important as to arrange for a two-month educational program using the book of readings cited above as a text. Beginning in April, programs will be broadcast twice weekly over television KOAP, and will be coordinated with neighborhood seminars. The purpose will be to identify the values in conflict in our communities as a first step in inspiring a rational elimination of the conflict.
>
> It's something to think about. The denser and denser the population becomes, the more and more necessary it is that, intellectually speaking, people become less so.

The center spread on the series was run on March 29, the week the series was to begin. Under the title "The Curse of the City" it runs four photographs of Portland, surrounding a detailed story on the project. Much of the story consists of a description of the first film, which the reporter had seen, the rest to details of the Portland program. It includes information on the availability of reading materials and viewer's guides, and an address to write to for further information on the seminars.

In the meantime, through February, Deinum was mailing hundreds of printed borchures on the series supplied by NET and imprinted with the local information, to members of MAP and other organizations. With the brochure went the following letter:

> The enclosed brochure describes a unique, new series of television programs about urban problems to be telecast on channel 10, KOAP, during April and May. We ask you to read it carefully.
>
> In view of the growing interest in metropolitan issues, the Division of Continuing Education considers itself

> obligated to provide ways of extending and deepening the potential beneficial effect of this series on any responsible urban adult.
>
> An excellent book of readings -- outlined in the brochure -- is available, as is a viewer's guide which ties the viewing to the reading. In addition, a discussion leader's guide can be provided.
>
> In order to put all these stimulating materials to the best use, DCE is cooperating with Metropolitan Area Perspectives, Inc., in planning free neighborhood seminars around these programs, with MAP supplying discussion leaders qualified to relate them to specific Portland situations and concerns.
>
> This mailing is an effort to learn who would be interested in organizing, or participating in, such a discussion group.
>
> (both a day and evening number to call was supplied)

In addition to these mailings, the Center mailed news releases which brought in the names of other prospects. Deinum obtained permission to buy thirty copies of the book of readings, and supplied one free to every discussion leader with a group of at least ten. The Center paid for several advertisements as the date for the series approached, and a number of groups did their own mailings. The Westminister Presbyterian Church, for example, mailed a one-page flyer briefly describing the film series, giving the dates on which it was to be shown, and adding a note on the times for two separate discussion groups, with the names of the leaders.

In conjunction with the first broadcast, Deinum ran a panel show on Channel 10, using the series title for an introduction to urban problems and to MAP and its work. Appearing with him were a county commissioner, a regional planner, and an architect. During the run of the series itself, there was a fair amount of newspaper comment, including another long editorial taking off from the points made by Raskin in the first film.

It was Deinum's impression at this point that there were 28 discussion groups operating in the metropolitan area, based on his having given out that number of copies of the readings, but he was too busy to check, being immersed in plans for a grand climax to the program. He had in mind at the beginning something in the nature of what he calls "a culminating event", but what he wanted to do required at least $1000, which he did not have, and he was having difficulty getting the speakers he wanted.

The financial difficulty was solved when his superior agreed to provide him with the necessary funds, and he began to try to line up two national authorities on urban life for a one-day conference he had in mind. He finally succeeded in obtaining Allan Temko, a professor at the University of California, an acid-tongued critic of urban design, and John E. Hirter, the director of SPUR, San Francisco's citizens' planning and urban renewal association. In an inspired bit of arrangement, The City Club of Portland invited Temko to address its annual meeting on the evening before the conference which the Portland Center and MAP were jointly sponsoring, which made it possible for Deinum to bring Temko to Portland four days before the conference. He was to use this time to renew his acquaintance with the city and its planners, and to help him do so, a plane was rented to fly him over the city for two hours.

Previous to the conference, the discussion group leaders for Metropolis and members of the ten-man planning commission in the Portland metropolitan area were invited to a dinner meeting to talk with Temko. The conference itself attracted two hundred "concerned, influential, and knowledgeable people," among them delegations sent by the Metropolitan Study Commission, the Port of Portland Commission, and similar groups. Temko made a presentation in the morning, responded to by a panel of city officials, state representatives, industrialists, and planners. In the afternoon, Hirter discussed planning in a democracy, with a response panel composed of similarly relevant Portland officials.

Deinum reports that Temko's remarks created a great deal of controversy, in the local newspapers, and that he, himself, "got into hot water with a number of people for asking and sponsoring him in the first place." He seems to be not over-concerned about this aspect of his culminating event, and reports that "all in all, the discussion groups ended with a bang, and not a whimper."

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Portland is one of the few cities in which plans for community discussion groups turned out to be reasonably successful, and the only one for which we have interview data on every group that did operate* The original estimate of 28 groups shrank to 18 when all the leads had been run down; ten people had discovered that they did not have time, or could not find enough interested people, or had started and then given up. Of the 18 groups located, two leaders had since left the Portland area, so the data now reported is basedon 16. This figure underestimates the number of groups actually operating, however; as reported below, one split into about five separate groups, and one of the leaders reported that a minister no longer residing in Portland held a Sunday school discussion group at his church, with eight to ten persons attending fairly consistently. The focus for this group, apparently, unlike those on which we have data, was on the book of readings.

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*The data exist only because Mrs. Andries Deinum grimly and systematically followed every available clue to uncover the groups and interview their leaders, for which we are deeply grateful.

In the following table, the nature of the groups, their size, use of the materials, and place of meeting are listed. The first figure for size gives the number of those who attended the first meeting; the figure under "core" approximates the number who attended with some regularity toward the end. Under "group composition" the entry "Mixed" indicates a membership composed of both professionals in the planning field and lay persons. A listing of package materials indicates only that the leader had copies of those aids, and made some use of them, not necessarily that they formed an important part of the sessions. "Manual" is the leader's manual issued by Wadsworth, "guide" is the Viewer's Guide prepared by the Council.

Group	Leader	Composition	Size	Core	Materials	Meeting Place
1.	planner, a director of MAP	government and prof.	15	6	manual guide readings	YWCA
2.	planner	mixed	10	erratic	guide	suburban home
3.	teacher, church member	lay	12	4	manual guide readings	home
4.	housewife member of MAP	mixed	16	8	manual readings guide	home
5.	college prof. planner	mixed	8	erratic	readings	suburban home
6.	Member of MAP and League of Women Voters	lay	12	6	manual guide	home
7.	two--a planner a businessman	mixed, mostly prof.	40(divided into groups of 6-8, later meeting in private homes)		manual guide readings	first at Chamber of Commerce, later homes
8.	county commissioner, member of MAP	lay	12	8	manual guide readings	library
9.	architect, planner	mixed	10	erratic	readings	home
10.	housewife, member of MAP	lay	14	10	manual guide	home
11.	housewife member of MAP	lay	20	10	manual guide readings	church
12.	planner	mixed	20	7	manual readings	church
13.	city engineer	city hall staff	16	10-12	readings	city hall

Group	Leader	Composition	Size	Core	Materials	Meeting Place
14.	prof.		12	10	manual readings	home
15.	housewife, MAP & LWV	existing church "social concerns" gp.	?	?	none	church
16.	businessman	lay	20	14	none	home

Only four of the leaders were unreservedly enthusiastic about the films as starters for discussion, and had no difficulty using them to relate to Portland's problems. Several others thought they were excellent, but indicated that they had to work at helping people make the connections. The two men who had started with a group of 40 which they broke into smaller neighborhood groups did visit some of them and saw them as having no difficulty in relating the films to their own concerns: "If it isn't a problem to us now, most of these people knew it would become one sooner or later." One leader who thought that, in general, the films were an excellent medium for stimulating discussion, nevertheless confessed that "we do not have the enormous and seemingly unsolvable problems of such cities as New York," which made it necessary for him to point out the many similar conditions of the Portland urban area. He had to "really work hard to keep discussion on this level and to prevent the introduction of too great a variety of subjects not related to the area under discussion...For this group the problems explored in the films were too far in the future to worry or deeply interest them now. These people are getting along very comfortably in their community (a suburb), so there is no sense of urgency and no current crises to trigger thinking or action."

All but four, then, found some difficulty in relating the big city problems described in the films to their situation, though most agreed that the films were stimulating. Predictably, one thought they were on too low a level and another that they were on too high a level; the first response came from the only thoroughly negative respondent, a wealthy old-line Portlander, who all but refused to be interviewed and remarked, "the films were often left far behind in the discussion because they were on too low a level for the type of people who were here...they were not in any way applicable to Portland...which is unique in that we are a city of home owners rather than apartment dwellers." The criticism that they were on too high a level came from the library group, who appear to be "old folks" who came for companionship and warmth, one of the few groups not motivated by some genuine interest in urban problems.

In general, one can classify the responses as running from excellent to fair, with the greatest weight toward the positive end of the scale, and with a significant amount of dubiousness about their relevance to the local community. This reaction can be seen more clearly and specifically in the recall of specific films, with the obvious caution about these that memory over a span of a year and a half is far from trustworthy.

Oddly, the prize-winning first film in the series, "How to Look at a City" was mentioned only once, by a leader who thought it was excellent and reported a positive group reaction. "Three Cures for a Sick City," the film on Washington, also was mentioned only once, by a leader who reported that it started a long and pertinent discussion of the displacement of people. The single mention of "Private Dream -- Public Nightmare," was in the context of an overall criticism of the series as too biased and too idealistic: "The other side was not given a chance to speak." This leader singled out "Private Dream" as an example of what she meant, pointing out that it considered only the architect's and planner's point of view, being sure herself that the planned cities favored in the film have problems and create additional problems which were not shown. (She objected in general to the symbol of the wrecker's ball used in the films as unfair and biased.)

The other films were discussed by more than one leader, but it is difficult to draw any general conclusions in some cases even from this wider reaction. "How Things Get Done," for example, the story of the struggle over the Houston Street property in New York, was cited by one person as being the most difficult of the films to get a discussion going with, and by another as providing the basis for the best discussion in the history of the group. There seems to be nothing about the composition of the groups that might explain the difference in reaction. "How to Live in a City" got four mentions, two pro and two anti. It was the best-liked film by one of the home groups consisting mainly of professionals, who "easily related the film to Portland and discussed such physical aspects of this city as downtown parking lots and the deterioration of the park blocks in the heart of town." The same film interested the city hall group of pros very little; "Portland is not land poor," after all.

Reactions to "The Fur-lined Foxhole" were almost entirely negative. In one suburban group, reported the leader, "it laid an egg." The group, a suburban one, did not feel the film applied to them, which upset the leader, who thought it did. She remarked that the series "only reaffirmed their feeling that they were glad to be in Gresham and for heaven's sake, keep Portland away from our door; everything is fine here." Another suburban group found the film "a poor portrait of suburban living as they knew it." This leader remarked that there is no pressure in Tigard towards conformity, since a more heterogeneous group exists there than might be expected in such a suburb, which he calls a "rural slum" of low income people with poor housing, no police protection, poor public services, etc. The film did better with a third suburban group, though perhaps not quite as its makers intended. The leader reports that "Fur-lined Foxhole" made the group self-conscious about being suburbanites. The discussion was focussed mainly on the problems of West Linn, however, and no one seemed concerned about what suburbs do to the city.

"Run From Race" and "What Will They Tear Down Next?" received most mention and most approval. There was only one specific report of a group being uninterested in the first of these, and seven approving responses. It was the only film that stood out in the memory of one leader, who remarked that although the majority of the group did not consider race a major problem in Portland, the film and the discussion of it made the group more aware than they had been before of the city's problems in that area. Another noted that the film created the most "surprising" discussion, because one man spoke very movingly about his experiences growing up in a New York tenement with Negroes, while the opposite view was voiced by a woman who had moved to Gresham from the Albina area (of Portland) when Negroes first began to move there. Apparently a very spirited, if not acrimonious, discussion resulted. It was the film that raised the greatest amount of discussion for one of the church groups, whose church is in process of becoming a white island in the midst of a predominately Negro neighborhood. In another group, the film was the subject of an attack by a DAR member.

One might have expected a good response to "What Will They Tear Down Next" because it was made in a small city, and all but one of the recollections of it are approving in tone. In the city hall group it evoked a discussion of the question: "Is urban renewal really worth anything?" Those who see its purpose to be the beautification of the city felt it was, those who believed that its purpose should be to produce better living conditions thought not, as urban renewal "seems to be leaving people out in the cold."

It was recalled as having generated the best discussion in another group, because of the leader's recent successful efforts to save the oldest church in Oregon from being torn down. It was the only film that aroused the library group of oldsters because many of them had been displaced by the city's urban renewal project in a downtown area.

The general assessment of the series given by these group leaders at the end of the interview throws a good deal of light on the impact of the program on the community level at which it was ultimately aimed. This part of the reports, then, is presented below with only a few eliminations to preserve anonymity and to prevent repetition.

Group 1.

> This group was very interested in the series...the discussions were lively but he thought there was too much consensus. Most of these people were already aware of the displacement problem in the core city and freeway areas as well as other urban problems, but no one seemed to feel these were urgent problems. They reacted strongly to such concepts as open space and recreational areas and access to the water front, and seemed to feel the need for more planning and for better zoning laws. The leader expressed the opinion that the films were on the "right level", although he wished that less spectacular cities had been dealt with. He feels there is a need for a similar series and discussion groups to deal with air and water pollution. One fault of the film series was that it did not explore and explain the "land use concept". His group recognized the need for citizen pressure groups and techniques and he believes these programs may have stimulated some of these people to "dig out local material to solve local problems."

Group 2.

The films were good but too "biased" towards the Jane Jacobs point of view. No solutions were offered in the films and they took "pot shots" at people who were trying to get something accomplished. They did take enough time to develop the problems and therefore were good in that they would get lay people aware of what some of the problems are. However, the films did not take "enough pains to put the problems in persepctive." It is possible that the series went on for too long a time... "people are unwilling to break their regular routine over such a long period of time."

Group 3.

The films, the guides, and the book revealed a new way of thinking to her and she is very happy she participated in the series. She feels the rest of the group also became more aware of their city, and "even if things did not go as they should have, each of us gained a great deal from it." She seemed to think her leadership had been a failure because no action group resulted.

Group 4.

This program did not have much affect on the core group... they were already interested, knowledgeable, and actively involved in solving the problems of city life. She went on at some length about the need to involve uninformed people and said she did not think the materials used for this series were the right ones for this purpose.

Group 5.

An excellent program and a broadening experience for the participants. His main criticism was the political and economic nature of the solution was, if not ignored, underplayed and underestimated. He did not find a very explicit realization that what needs to be done must be done by political means in light of the economic realities of the situation. He felt that somewhere in the films there should have been an exploration of the idea that the crises in our cities are really a failure of government. The lack of a conflict of ideas in the films did not cause them to lose impact. He thought all of the films interesting and well worth watching.

Group 6.

She does not think discussion groups of this kind involving people already concerned and perhaps actively working in this area through community organizations or their professions are of any value. "We could each have looked at the films in our own homes and merely talked about them when we met on social occasions." The results were not worth the effort involved, and she has, because of her experience with this series, refused to form or become a member of an Urban Mosaic discussion group. (See the end of this Section for a description of these follow-up groups.)

Group 7. (Dual leadership)

He said they were still receiving playback from this series, particularly from architects. Mr. M. felt that both the films and the book were on too high a level for the average individual and Mr. D. agreed with this. Mr. D. made a point of the fact that they had tried very hard to involve laymen but had found no interest and no response. He seemed to think that the groups he visited were excellent only because the people involved were professionals. He also feels a greater concern is being shown and more discussion is being held about Clackamas County programs and problems since this series. He cited as examples conversations he has had and a Methodist Church study and discussion program revolving around problems of rural and urban living and their affect on the individual.

Group 8.

Although he personally felt the series very worthwhile, he believes the films and the book were too abstract and too aesthetically oriented for the group he headed. The general tenor of the films was geared more to students and those with a special interest in the subject in his opinion.

Group 9.

There was some interest but not too much. Most of his group were not brand new to the subject. "Some of them came away with at least a slightly different point of view." His criticism of the series was that it "did not get down to the root of this mess which is the question of who makes the decisions and who owns the land. We're not going to get far as long as these people continue to make a profit and are comfortable." He was not enthusiastic but not negative either...it was a "good thing to do."

Group 10.

The program did not add to the knowledge of or give new insights to those with some background in the subject, but the series was extremely helpful to those with no background, exposing them to ideas, concepts and problems they had not previously given thought to. This is a difficult field to interest lay people in, and efforts like this series can only be praised and not criticized. More educational work must be done by schools, colleges, civic organizations, etc., and attempts should be made to involve more students and young people in such discussions as these.

Group 11.

The group was very stimulated by the films and the discussions. Their attitude was that of "learning." The leader characterized the series and the materials used as "adequate" and of great interest to this particular group. They indicated a desire to explore this field again at a later date. "The group was quite serious in its approach to the subject... most of them knew only what they had read in the newspapers when they started...this series deepend their knowledge and interest."

Group 12.

This series did manage to get the group interested in their city as a whole in spite of the group's overriding concern with their immediate surroundings. He wishes that cities such as Cincinatti or Kansas City, which are more typical of the country than such "monsters" as New York City and Philadelphia, had been used. Some members of this group have since found an improvement association (with some Negro members), the aim of which is to up-grade the entire community in which the church is located.

Group 13.

He and everyone in his group felt that this type of program is invaluable. He expressed the opinion that perhaps the discussions would have been quite different if his group had not been composed of professional people whom he characterized as tending to think in "stereotypes". Less knowledgeable people might have asked seemingly naive questions which would have led to more stimulating discussions and given new insights to the group.

Group 14.

The general attitude of this group before the series began had been one of uncritical acceptance of "things as they are," but this series caused them to at least become more aware of the dangers and complexities of urban life. He did not care to critize the type of material or the approch used by the films and said there should be more of this type of program to stimulate the thinking of those with a latent interest in the subject but who "don't know where to start." He expressed disappointment that his group did not become an action group to study the problems of West Linn which he confessed was his motive for forming this particular group.

Group 15.

She felt that this was an excellent attempt to focus public attention on our cities and what's wrong with them and was sorry she had not formed a separate group around the series.

Group 16.

This series created a higher interest in civic affairs and increased interest in the metropolitan area as a whole. These people had felt isolated to a certain extent but this has changed. He could make no criticism of the films, saying they "brought out points that would not otherwise have entered into our discussions."

These are an interesting and, on the whole, positive, collection of reactions to the series. There is some of the to-be-expected ruefulness about the inability to reach those "who need it most" and an interesting undercurrent of a wish to engage in action on these problems. There is even an indication, here and there, that the discussions did lead to fruitful collective action at the neighborhood level.

One of the most important outcomes for Portland, perhaps, is that Deinum was encouraged to go on to produce a program of his own on Channels 7 and 10, which he calls Urban Mosaic: Searching for Portland, a program of discussions, filmed reports, interviews, confrontations, about the metropolitan area. Not only is it a vital program, but it is now being used as a starting point for a series of public forums organized by MAP, and held monthly around the state for the discussion of local issues. Deinum himself considers this new and wider community effort a result of the Metropolis discussion groups. If he is right, Metropolis can credit itself with a resounding success story.

These interviews with such a large number of discussion groups leaders provide a considerable amount of data on the reactions of some of the ultimate consumers of the televised films, and invites some interesting, if risky, speculation on what impact the films may have had on the unorganized viewer. Even the most modest estimates of the general audience suggest that there must have been thousands of these viewers; the Portland interviews indicate that only a minority of them living outside the huge metropolitan areas probably saw the films as relevant to the problems of their own communities. The importance of the efforts to draw people into some active consideration of their relevance, then, is clear, and even the relatively weak device of the studio panel following the film, the most commonly employed program format found in this study, may well have made a far more significant contribution to the educational usefulness of the series than one might suppose.

IV. UTILIZATION PATTERNS AND RESULTS

This major section describes the basic patterns of utilization we found, the variations from them, and it explores in depth the questions with which the study began. The first four sub-sections below conform to the categories established in the preceding section: 1) panels, 2) additional studio programming, 3) community involvement, and 4) selective community involvement. They are followed by a consideration of the evidence available on the question of the impact of the series on the community; and, finally, by a summary of reactions to the quality and relevance of the package itself.

1. Studio Panels

Providing panels following the film showings is an obviously useful way of making local application to a series of this sort, and most of the cities which did anything at all with Metropolis concentrated on a panel presentation. The moving force in developing a program, in the first place, came almost entirely from university or university-oriented personnel. In Seattle, Vancouver, Memphis, and Akron, the initiators were members of the Program Committee, or at least acting out of knowledge of the university's membership in the Council. In Canada, local university extension divisions were alerted by the Canadian Association of Adult Education or, as in Toronto, by the Metropolitan Educational Television Association. In Boston, the

Center for the Study of Liberal Education, associated with the program through Liveright from the beginning, provided the impetus.

Only in New Orleans, San Francisco, and Hartford did the educational television station initiate the activity, despite several efforts by Alter at NET to interest the stations in utilization plans. Memphis station personnel recall several communications about the series, "and in retrospect, it would seem that the station should have started planning for its presentation of the series immediately, but with a full schedule of local production already announced for the fall of 1963, the decision was postponed." Most of the other station managers recalled the communications only vaguely, if at all.

Hartford's involvement appears to result from the operation of several factors. Channel 24 there regards itself as a community station, and feels that its first responsibility after its service to the schools is in public affairs. When NET announced the Metropolis series, the program manager saw it as timely and relevant for Hartford, "so we tooled up to a major effort, for us. We decided to commit ourselves to a good film budget, which did not then exist, and spent, for us, a lot of money and time." They had not been on the air for very long, and also saw the series as a good public relations vehicle. "Now our audience has tripled, and largely as a result of this program, we have a public affairs reputation."

In New Orleans, the program manager of the ETV station is not only a dynamic person, but very interested in urban problems. He lived in Troy, the setting for one of the best of the Metropolis films, so he had an additional interest in the series. He is a native New Orleaner, but has worked for many years all over the country, "and when I came back, I noticed again that although this city has great charm, it has just as great scabs...after I saw the series, I decided that although it was quite well organized, I wanted to give it additional momentum. So I called Tulane, for their reaction to giving it some local point-up. They responded with eight one-hour discussion shows."

The program manager in San Francisco is another community-oriented person, with an intellectual's interest in urban problems as well. He called the University of California as soon as he heard about the series, and began planning for several activities. The station is generally interested, one gathers, in maintaining this type of cooperative arrangement with the university.

Initiation and Promotion

In many cities, the interested local agencies had in mind some extensive efforts to obtain community participation, as well as panels, which accounts for many elaborate schemes of community involvement. An examination of the cases in which a series of panels was to be the major effort, however, reveals a surprising number of serious attempts to get a wide variety of people and organizations in on the planning.

Hartford, New Orleans, and San Francisco are the notable exceptions. The University of Washington, in Seattle, a member of the Council, took steps that related only to the faculty -- the President of the University appointed a faculty advisory group to plan the utilization. In most other cities concentrating on developing a studio panel, the initial planning group was much more broadly constituted.

In Akron, for example, the director of the Institute for Civic Education at the University of Akron, sent a letter to a large number of people in the city, including city officials, relevant academics, clergymen, and heads of associations interested in city affairs, inviting them to previews of two of the films. About 25 people came to each of three preview meetings, to suggest possible panelists and to agree to publicize the series. The commercial station, WAKR, agreed to contribute a half-hour of time for eight weeks as a public service, but could not give a whole hour free at a useful time. The Institute director looked about and found a sponsor for the time needed for panels; the Co-op stores in Akron, whose secretary-treasurer was a close friend of his, bought the extra time. Although there are other communities in which the series was broadcast by a commercial station, this is the only instance we found of such sponsorship by a public-spirited organization.

In Calgary, the University of Alberta invited representatives from eight organizations, the City Planning Department, the Social

Planning Council, the Association of Architects, etc., to a preview meeting, and instead of the expected ten or twelve people, 38 showed up, plus all the local aldermen who were interested in planning. Out of this group an executive committee was formed, including the Chairman of the Community Planning Association (who volunteered to raise funds for the project), and the directors or heads of a number of important associations and city departments. An average of $100.00 was contributed by twelve different organizations, most of them represented on the executive committee, to pay for film rentals, promotional literature, and newspaper advertisements. Calgary was offered a better time slot for the series by their local commercial station than by CBC, and accepted it.

The University of Utah assigned the organizational task to their recently formed Institute of Urban Studies and Services, which, in cooperation with the extension division, held several large planning meetings with a group that appears to represent everything worth representing at all in Salt Lake City, including one of the local newspapers. This unwieldy group later slimmed down to an executive committee of ten, the majority of them university faculty members.

In Toronto, the Director of Metropolitan Educational Television Association convened a series of meetings of community organizations, which were well attended by representatives of churches, Women Electors (the Canadian counterpart of the League of Women Voters), the library, and others, a number of these organizations later playing an active role in program developments.

A number of other cities, Omaha and Winnipeg, for example, created more limited advisory groups, with representatives of the university, the television station, and perhaps one or two community groups, to guide the planning. It was, in fact, a rarity to find a university-initiated program which did not make some effort to broaden the planning base.

Promotion

In cities where the studio panel was the focus of the program effort, there was a heavy reliance on impersonal channels of promotion, with a consistent use of the mailing piece prepared by NET; a number of very attractive variations on this piece were prepared locally, some of them reproduced as a frontispiece of this report. Flyers were commonly sent, as one would expect, to lists of community groups, university mailing lists, city officials, and station subscribers. There was a considerable and general effort made to persuade community organizations to do mailings to their own memberships. Most of the television stations reported that they had neither the money or resources to do much promotion; university extension divisions carried most of the burden. San Francisco's program manager complained that lead time was so short that the station was unable to use even routine channels to notify listeners of the series, a difficulty that few others noted.

News releases by either the station or the university were, of course, a universal feature, with mixed results. In at least two cities, news coverage was poor or spotty because the local newspaper owned a rival television station, or wanted to acquire one. In about half of the cities in which the panel show was the central feature, however, publicity was good, and only one or two reported poor coverage, In Memphis, as in Portland and a number of cities, either the station or the university paid for ads, and in Akron the sponsoring Co-op stores paid for several. The University of Utah's apparent stroke of genius in involving a local newspaper representative on its planning committee was, in the judgment of one of the university staff, perhaps misguided; the reporter's involvement may have dampened any possible enthusiasm on the part of a rival, and more influential, paper.

It is interesting that what is probably the most intensive television station publicity given to the series was WMBD's, in Peoria, a commercial station. It made a total of 67 spot announcements of ten seconds each about the series, time valued at well over a thousand dollars. And it is well to note, even though it failed to come off, that at Vancouver, the university staff member interested in the program tried very hard to persuade a local newspaper to devote a full page to the text of each of the films on the day of the showing. The paper never agreed to do it, but it is an interesting idea that might have succeeded if it had been pushed in other communities.

Panel Preparation

The almost universal pattern ensured some kind of preview for the panel members, either a few days before the broadcast, or on the day. Whether the panel discussion was taped beforehand or presented live seemed to be a matter depending on local circumstances; the emphasis appears to be on live shows, although it is only a slight one. In some cases panelists were provided with copies of the book of readings and encouraged to read them before the session, but this was by no means universal.

There are a number of instances of the disruptive effect of time pressure. In San Francisco and New Orleans panelists sometimes did not have a change to see the film they were to discuss until its actual broadcast, and the Memphis station would have preferred to give the panelists more exposure to the films than a single preview. On the other hand, Calgary's original plan was to gather the panel together on Monday evenings to preview the film; havethem view the film a second time on Thursday and actually tape the program on that evening for showing on Sunday. They found after the initial program, however, that the informal discussion after the first viewing was much more alive and vital than the taped discussion made after a second viewing, and reduced the previewing to a single session. In most cases, a single viewing appeared to satisfy the need for both preparation and spontaneity.

Winnipeg's experience illustrates how careful planning by educators accustomed to work at a fairly leisurely pace can be upset by the requirements of mass media. The planning committee met throughout August and September of 1964, working toward a beginning date of the middle of October. They compiled a list of local residents who might make suitable panel members, and by September had extensive lists ready for selection. At this point the television producer returned to the city after a long summer absence and was dismayed that none of the proposed participants had been approached, so committee members got on the phone and within a week had completed arrangement for 40 panelists and eight chairmen. "Almost simultaneously with the last telephone call," our Winnipeg reporter recalls, the producer informed them that the station cameramen were otherwise engaged on the Friday evenings allotted for the Metropolis series. "The broadcast must now be taped rather than produced 'live', the broadcast itself would be delayed two weeks beyond the starting date, and the last two programs cancelled." (They were later restored.) With only two weeks left before starting date, the station staff had to telephone all committed participants, some of whom had rearranged scheduled trips and other activities to be on the panel, and set up a new schedule. Fortunately, the panels ended up "remarkably well-balanced and effective."

Panel Composition

Although the panel chairman was sometimes a professional announcer or television news director, there was a better than

2 to 1 chance that he was a university professor or dean of extension. The dominant pattern was to try to have either a consistent chairman for all of the panels, or at least "one familiar face" on them, though in some cases this turned out to be impractical; Seattle, for example, could not find a person who could be available for all eight showings. Calgary used a very interesting device to provide series continuity; each of the panels had one person on it who participated in every one of them and played the role of "interested citizen." She was not a professional, and had no expertise in any of the fields discussed, but could be relied upon to raise the kinds of questions a lay person might ask.

Panels usually consisted of three or four persons, composed with some thought toward achieving a balance of community roles and attitudes toward urban planning. In all cases one finds a mixture of city officials, university or city planning experts, sociologists, representatives of concerned community associations (often a League of Women Voters member), social agencies, businessmen, and architects. In Madison, the faculty member responsible for the panels dissented from this general idea of panel size and composition. He found that those panels which were best had only two people plus a moderator on them; when there were more than a total of three people and they all had to comment in a one-half hour period, there was not enough time for any in-depth investigation. Indeed, he would prefer, if it were done again, to have just one person plus the moderator, so that one person could really express his views.

There was a common effort to ensure that panels would not be dominated by university faculty, though in some cases this proved upsetting or difficult. In Omaha, where the extension staff member was largely responsible for selection, he tried for "not just home owners, but those in some position to make decisions in the life of the community." Early on, he decided that the program should not consist of "just a bunch of eggheads," and tried to keep the university's position secondary, which annoyed the faculty.

In at least two cities, it proved difficult to lure any important representatives of business onto panels. In Akron, there seems to be general agreement that the big rubber companies are not interested in the city, and the biggest gap on the panels was industry. Madisnn's university planner who did the selection reported, too, that the most notable exceptions among the panelists were any representatives from "the industry creating the urban problem-development industry." As a result, he remarks it was necessary for the panelists to express second-hand the opinions of realtors, land developers, investment corporations, brokers and bankers, all of whom, he says, are unwilling to have their members involved in public examination of their ideas. A lawyer representing the development industry called the channel after a few of the programs had gone on the air, to complain that no representatives of this industry had been contacted. "I told him that we had been trying for a very long time to get someone on the panel, whereupon he announced that this was ridiculous, he would find someone; finally he had to admit defeat, and appeared on the program himself. But he was so cautious in expressing his ideas that he might as well not have been there."

Several deviations from the general pattern of panel-building deserve note. San Francisco, instead of developing a completely new panel format to follow the showings of each film, utilized an already existing panel program, Profile Bay Area, a popular show run by a local lawyer active in local affairs. Four of these programs were devoted to followups on the Metropolis films, each of the four considering two of the films. The panels were timed to take advantage of both the films and the lecture series on the Berkeley campus, and some of the lecturers appeared as panel members.

The University of Utah, which planned to use a considerable amount of additional studio material as well as panels, designed a fairly elaborate scheme of "program directors," assigning a different faculty member to each program and making him responsible for developing a whole presentation, selecting and briefing panelists, and conducting the program itself.

Local Assessment and Problems

There was a widespread agreement, with a few notable exceptions, that the panels turned out to be useful, interesting, and posed no insurmountable difficulty. All three Canadian cities surveyed were enthusiastic about the results, as were at least some American communities, Akron and Hartford among others. Often, however, this general feeling of satisfaction was tempered by the reservation that they failed to be memorable and a wish that they had had more "verve." One station manager observed amusedley that the panelists were "perfect little gentlemen" on the air, then occasionally indulged in shouting matches after the program ended.

If "verve" includes real conflict on the air, we came across few examples, one of these few in Omaha, where a realtor described by one of our respondents as "a real Barry Goldwater type" and a Negro who is on the Board of Regents of the university found themselves on the same panel. The real estate man kept saying, "Well, we certainly don't have that problem here -- any Negro can live anywhere he wants," and the Negro panelist kept replying, "Yeah? Well, let me tell you about the time I tried!" The station reported that the Urban League called and "were extremely enthusiastic about our ventilation of this problem."

Most observers agreed that there was relatively little reference to the films themselves, though panels often drew on material in them during discussions. Most of the available time, in all cases, was devoted to relevant local problems, trying to apply, with difficulty in some cases, the film's generalizations to the local community.

Recall of specific panel discussions was difficult to get a year and a half after the event, but we did encounter one or two good memories. One panel member in Akron, who participated in the discussion following "How to Look at a City," recalls that the group, composed of a member of the Akron Planning Commission, a professor of art, a member of the staff of the City Planning Department, and the chairman of the Urban Design Committee, talked a good deal about Jane Jacob's concept of the city, They agreed that a city with mixed land use would be a more exciting place, but that it would not be possible in Akron. That is, Akron is a city of houses, with much pride of neighborhood, and not only would one not see a $20,000 house next to a $40,000 one, one also would not find apartment buildings next to houses; those few apartment buildings that are in the luxury class announce that no children are welcome, and appeal to the upper middle class older persons whose children have left home. Only in one area, they concluded, what Jacobs talks about might be happening, near the university where old homes are being reconverted for use by families and by clubs.

Our impression is that this is fairly typical of many of the panel discussions in most communities; however useful it undoubtedly was, it is difficult to see it as exciting, which perhaps accounts for the general lack of audience response. Most stations received only a few phone calls about the series, and commenting letters were sparse. There were some exceptions:

CBC in Vancouver was deluged with letters, running 50-1 in favor of the series, and Madison's station received 15-20 phone calls after each panel (on which basis they estimate an audience of 5,000 persons for the series, an estimate which university staff greeted with some hilarity).

The Boston station received a total of 25 letters on the series, most commendatory, and some mentioning participation in viewing groups. The bulk of them were in response to "What Will They Tear Down Next?" and came from an urban renewal area in the city which is bitterly divided on the issue. One letter protested statements made by a panel member on the "How To Live in a City" program; the panelist was an official of the city agency responsible for recreational facilities, and, according to the protesting viewer, had made a number of false statements about the nature of the open space problem in Boston and the efforts of his own agency. These statements were not challenged by the other panelists, possibly, one observer suggests, because they were instructed by their own superiors not to fight on the air with the official. The letter writer, a member of a local conservationist group, demanded equal time from the station to answer, and its chairman was invited to discuss the issue on another program. This was the only genuine controversy we came across in the course of the study and even this one, as indicated, did not enliven the panel itself.

Yet, the general impression of blandness, an absence of the penetration into the real value issues of urban life which the originators of the program hoped to stimulate, is often enough partially contradicted when one examines some of the experiences in detail. A good example, though hardly typical, is New Orleans where the panelists were selected by the TV program manager primarily with a view to getting things stirred up. After the first program several citizens called the president of Tulane to congratulate him on the university's involvement in such a program. The president called the station, in some embarrassment, to say that he had not been aware that University College was sponsoring the series, but since it was such a good idea, would the station give it "additional exposure?" The station readily agreed to re-run each show on another day of the week.

New Orleans provided an interesting test for how a panel in a solidly southern city would handle "Run From Race," (Memphis solved the problem by not running it, and the case study of that city's program, which was conducted by several member of the television station staff, quietly omits any mention of the matter). The university dean involved in New Orleans, who also acted as chairman for some of the panels, reports that he considers one of the good results of the series the fact that Negroes were used on the panel with whites. He was warned by his friends that he would have trouble on his hands if he did so, but he went ahead with his plans. In particular, he reports, there is a changed reaction to one of the civil rights lawyers in town, who filed many of the local desegregation suits for the NAACP, and who had come to be thought of as an ogre by people who just saw his name in the headlines. The man is scholarly, mild-mannered, and moderate in his views, "came over with a bang" on TV, and gave the whole community a different look at him. The most consistent reaction the dean got after the series was, "That man isn't so bad after all." One of the panelists interviewed noted also that he considered the integrated panels an important consequence. "The TV station got quite a bit of negative static as a result, their phone had never run as often..." (This was unsupported by our interview with the station manager, whose only response to the question on audience reaction was that there was very little of it.) "It was fearless of Tulane to ask Negroes to participate in these discussions with whites; it just isn't done."

The contradictory impressions about the reactions noted above is typical of the New Orleans data, as well as those in most other cities. As we talked to the organizers and panelists, a range of different interpretations emerged. For one person, the panels were not bad, not earthshaking, to be sure, but did a good job particularly in revealing the weakness of the planning commission, whose members had to spend most of their time explaning why the commission has not done more; the films were not very relevant, though. Another respondent thought the panels were extremely useful in relating the film's concepts to local situations, and the films were relevant in nearly all instances to New Orleans, but the orientation of the series was far too sophisticated for the general TV audience. Still another: the series was a "major opportunity, without question, to make a dent in a very complex and vexing situation in New Orleans...one of the very few examples of something constructive and helpful to those concerned with metropolitan growth problems...has a special place in my mind -- very vivid recollections; discussions were excellent, some panelists were outstanding in the freedom with which they talked, for example, a well-known local architect had a fascinating battle with a dean of an architecture school, ripped him up and down." A fourth respondent recalls the panels as mostly noteworthy for their fear of outspokenness, attributable to a "fear of reprisal" from employers; the problems discussed by the films were not relevant to New Orleans because the economic situation in the city is so different; it was probably all right for a lay audience, but the panelists expressed the narrowest interests possible.

Thus, in New Orleans, as in most cities, it is difficult to put together any clear-cut sense of how well the panels succeeded, given the differences in perspectives and levels of sophistication of those with whom we talked. The cumulative weight of the evidence suggests that they generally met the moderate expectations of most of those who participated in them.

In this general picture of moderate success one finds occasional troubled reflections of the differences in purpose between the mass media and the university. Most of the evidence for this unease exists as an undercurrent in our talks, and seldom became so explicit as in one angry outburst against educators by a TV program manager: "That sounds like some of that crap you get from educators. Boy, they and I just don't talk the same language. I sure can't communicate with them." A thoughtful assessment of what the university staff learned from their experience, by a Winnipeg extension person, puts clearly what we seldom got explicitly from the educational side: "We were alarmed from time to time at the difference in purpose which we encountered when working with the station. As is probably natural enough, it is concerned with what it considers entertainment appeal as well (or instead of) sound education. There was often pressure to set the stage for a debate or argument rather than on the presentation of thoughtful and constructive ideas. It would seem to be advisable for a sponsoring oommittee to depend less upon direction from the station staff than upon a firm conviction regarding its own purposes and personnel. This is not a recommendation for rigidity, but for an awareness which would prevent the aims of a sponsor from being brushed aside to accommodate the (seeming) whims of the station."

The sharply expressed disappointment in the intellectual level and sophistication of the film series as a whole which we found in both Seattle and San Francisco (see the discussion of reactions later in this section) expresses a different aspect of this view, but adds some perplexing elements to the general issue. In San Francisco, the extension staff member directing the campus program was very critical of the films' level, which is not surprising when one considers Berkeley's rather lofty self-image; but the faculty urban planning expert who worked with him, and who has a national reputation in that academic field, thought the films were very useful indeed, and the lectures and discussions, on the whole, successful. The San Francisco station's program manager considered the films far below the level of sophisticated dwellers in the ultra-sophisticated Bay Area and the whole enterprise a dismal flop; but the two people who carried through thepanel programs for him, and who are, personally, models of the charm, intelligence, sensitivity, and sophistication on which the area prides itself, liked most of the films and thought the discussions useful and fairly succesful. And, in Seattle, the thoroughly negative reaction of the faculty people involved in the program to the intellectual level of the films must be considered beside the fact that a newspaper review made no bones about its preference for the films over the contribution of the panelists.

To these conflicts among sound education and entertainment, intellectual level and audience appeal, this study can make little decisive contribution. The evidence suggests that if the television people involved wanted dramatically sharp differences of opinion and audience-appealing arguments on these panels, a number of educators were probably aiming for the same end, and neither, in most cases, succeeded in getting this kind of liveliness. If the educators were interested in stimulating thoughtful and well-informed examinations of the admittedly profound issues involved in the series, and some were, they didn't get those very often, either. Most agree, though, that the panels did the necessary job of translating general concepts to the local level, and did it well against considerable odds.

All our evidence points to the value of the panel format in making this translation, and the fact that Metropolis represents the most widespread use of local panels for a nationally-produced film series may well be its most significant contribution to public affairs education. Such an appraisal, in fact, might well be regarded by some as an altogether inadequate assessment of the significance of the panels. In fairness to the view of the professional television educator one must point out that, on the basis of his long experience, Alter is inclined to give a great deal of weight to the fact that the panels were organized at all, whatever the difficulties may have been in their execution. First, he argues, such an educational addition to a film series almost never happens and Metropolis thus represents a significant step forward for television film; they led to an unprecedented confrontation of town and gown, and often of different interests within the town; they represent "a kind of snowball effect in terms of mobilizing educational thinking and'education for public responsibility' that is simply not a by-product of the usual NET or other ETV program;" and they caused a most unusual "spill-over" from the educational network to other kinds of stations.

2. Studio Additions to the Panels

In several cities as in Memphis, stations built special background sets for the panels, put on film special 60-second introductions with shots of the local city which were used to open each session. We note under this category here, however, only those programs which went beyond this to develop some interaction between the audience and the panel, or produced film clips of the local community to illustrate general points made by the film series.

All of the four Canadian cities studied did sone additional programming, perhaps a commentary on the greater educational sophistication of Canadian adult educators. In Calgary, after the film was shown, film clips, still pictures, maps, diagrams, and models were used to tie the subject of the film in with Calgary's problems, for a period of five or ten minutes. The remaining time was taken by the panel. Because they eliminated "Run From Race" as irrelevant to Canadian cities, the eighth program reviewed the film clips and other visuals from previous programs, with the public invited to phone in questions to a battery of telephone operators, who summarized the questions and passed them on to the moderator. The response to this telephone participation portion of the last program was overwhelming. Four operators could not keep up with incoming calls, and during the last ten minutes of the program it was not possible to accept any further calls. An analysis of the program showed that some 70 areas of interest, from taxes to riverbank parks, were covered during the program.

Although they did not develop any special film materials for the series, Toronto made effective use of a live studio audience, adding liveliness and local relevance to the panel by having members of the audience address questions to them.

Winnipeg planned to have the station cameramen view the entire series and take comparable Winnipeg shots, where applicable. It turned out that only one preview print could be made available, but descriptions provided in program notes gave them clues for useful supplementary film clips. Each program opened with animated drawings representing a fast-growning community. The host introduced the topic, the panelists, and the films. On the occasions when film clips of local scenes were included, the panel chairman interrupted the follow-up discussion at a pre-arranged time, and discussion continued again following the showing of the clip.

Vancouver, where a number of imaginative and ambitious plans for discussion groups were frustrated (see next section), did obtain an extra half hour for a panel and for film clips of the Vancouver area, and mounted an elaborate promotion scheme. Two hundred people were invited to preview two of the films, 100 of whom showed up, and agreed to alert memberships they represented to the dates and times and showings. Five or six thousand letters were sent out. Although CBC program staff had been skeptical at first, feeling that the series was esoteric for Canada, they were delighted with viewer response, which was overwhelming. The extension staff person who engineered the program, and persuaded CBC to run the series, is less enchanted with the results. The panels, he felt, were far from satisfactory. For example: from a sociologist, "suburbs are evil in their ugliness;" a developer, "but we give them what they want;" a planner, "both of you are right, and the Council is discussing this." Or, "we got into a bunch of landscapers, and there would be some guy pointing to pictures of pretty bushes outside a $40,000 home when the discussion was supposed to be about low-income housing." Even the producers, he says, were not happy with the quality and relevance of most of the film clips.

Madison built its panels around an audience phone-in plan. After the film had been aired, the moderator, a university planning expert, posed questions to the panel which attempted to relate the general discussion to the specific Madison situation. The panelists were then invited to discuss what they saw as relevant, but since during the program viewers had been invited many time to call the station with relevant observations or questions, the panelists interrupted themselves frequently if a viewer called in a question which he wanted answered. A member of the university staff took the calls, wrote the questions on cards, and handed them to panelists. The moderator estimated that during each panel there were from 8 to 12 questions, and reported his view that the most lively discussions resulted from these telephone calls, because he felt that viewers' questions put a degree of pressure on the panelists to answer directly, a pressure which he thought they did not always feel when the moderator asked the questions.

Hartford thought that Metropolis by itself was too general, and decided to capitalize on its focus and do a follow-up in tandem, METROPOLIS: HARTFORD. Thus, when the national program looked at rehabilitation, so did its local counterpart. When Channel 24 went on the air the year previous to this period, the Director of the Regional Affairs Center at the University of Hartford suggested they do a program on politics or economics, an idea which the station at that point was too busy getting set up to adopt. When NET informed the station about Metropolis, the program manager called the university and asked the Center to work with them on the follow-up. The Center Director acted as idea man, outlined the local material, scripted the programs, sometimes went out with the cameraman and interviewed people, served as host to those invited to participate in the studio presentation, and contacted all the panelists. The station program director helped him to do research on local problems, and produced and directed the series.

They were both determined that the program should avoid the usual informal panel format, and structured it so that even when people were invited into the studio to react to the films they were asked to prepare two-or three-minute presentations instead of talking "off the top of their heads." Never, they report, was there an undisciplined minute. They used a good deal of film and a minimum of panel - an average of 60% film overall, with the fourth program devoted entirely to local clips, most of them with sound accompaniment. In the studio, a lot of film and slides were used as bridging material.

For example, they used shots of the Berlin Turnpike and an as yet unspoiled mountain area to accompany some animation footage on what could happen to the area if care is not taken. For "Run From Race" they made some sound film on the situation in Bloomfield, "the one town which has 'accepted' a number of Negroes into the community, talking with a town manager and a couple of Negro home owners to get their impressions of their assimilation with the town. Then we did some factual information on the Negro situation in Hartford, who's moving out of the city, and why." For "Private Dream, Public Nightmare," they drew on the resources of the Capitol Region Planning Agency, an agency with little enforcement power, an amalgam of the 29 towns which make up the region, and which was just ready to make known its plan for the region. On the air, representatives of the agency indicated the problems they had considered, the future conditions of the area, and the other possibilities they had explored before deciding on the plan they unveiled. It was a rather technical illustration, reports the program manager, with much use of charts, "but we thought it was important to show all that. Not everyone is ready to jump into the idea of a metropolitan area, though they are coming more and more to think that these 29 towns have interlocking responsibilities, and this program helped the 'metropolitan thinkers'."

The University of Utah started out with the intention of doing much the same thing as Hartford, with a somewhat different orgainzational plan, but, for lack of funds, apparently did not do as well. Responsibility for each program was assigned to separate members of the university faculty (other members of the large planning committee are reported to have shared in a general wave of relief when the assignments were announced), who were given very limited budgets for their productions. These costs were absorbed by the Division of Continuing Education.

Each of the programs was introduced and ended by the Director of the Bureau of Community Development; he also did on the first show, a ten-minute presentation on the purposes of the series, with a review of the films which were to be shown. His general impression is that the program was well worth doing, and was moderately successful. He suspects that the audience was "small but select," and though the news coverage was disappointing, informal feedback from the university community was positive. The local extension dean expressed a less positive view of the program, and reported his general feeling that there should have been a greater variety in the presentations, complaining of a general absence of creativity. But the faculty efforts to develop adequate local presentations were plagues by a variety of difficulties, as the summary below of our interviews with them indicated:

1st program -- a sociologist and staff member of the Bureau. The budget was too limited, which hurt the local filming and the possibilities of broadening the presentation by travelling to Ogden or Provo for shots. Administration and coordination was fuzzy and jumbled. He was satisfied by the job done by the panel, though, and it was a good program. The unfortunate incident involving the newspaper reporter he feels was a unilateral decision of the TV station's producer-director. (The reporter on a local church-related newspaper had been in on the planning almost from the beginning, and was originally to be a member of the first panel; he provided so much film material, however, that the producer, faced with the task of editing it down to manageable proportions, decided to delete it entirely, and eliminated the reporter from the panel altogether. The university was left with the duty of smoothing ruffled feelings.)

2nd program -- chairman of the Department of Sociology. "Run From Race" is a good film, but since many Utahns do not see that a racial problem exists here, the local half hour was very needed. The project was extremely under-financed, though they did some footage on a neighborhood into which minority group members were moving, and in which real estate values were maintained. The panel put the stress on the impossible conditions that exist in poverty for any race. The major local resistance came from the real estate board -- a definite attempt was made to involve them in the program, but they would not agree to appear.

3rd program -- member of the Political Science Department. Film was provocative and enjoyable, and an easy transition into the problems of Salt Lake suburbia. Recalls that he did a very poor job as moderator, and the time was up before the panel got around to posing solutions. He thinks the films should be run again this fall when the county is to vote on the issue of metropolitan government, since the public is apathetic.

4th problem -- Staff member of the Bureau of Economic and Business Research. Transition from "Private Dream--Public Nightmare" easy and natural. Major portion of the local presentation was a series of slides on the Salt Lake Area Transportation Study, which was originally carried out by one of the panelists. City and country planning staffs had special meetings called before the showing, and all were urged to watch it. Doesn't know of any feedback; the panel thought it an excellent learning experience for themselves, and probably informative for the public, though of doubtful lasting influence. He feels there was a general lack of continuity between the programs, which made each presentation a little mechanical.

5th program -- Associate director of the Bureau. "How Things Get Done" was frustrating, because nothing did get done in the film. He did no special visuals, concentrated on the Salt Lake City Master

Plan, with the Commissioner who directed its development explaining what it contained, using numerous visual aids he brought with him. The pleas of the panel for citizen involvement in planning efforts were general, and the absence of any feedback, he thinks, showed they were also quite ineffectual.

6th program -- member of the Department of Architecture. Very good film, and unslanted ("What Will They Tear Down Next?") Most of the local presentation was a series of slides which had to be worked up before the film arrived, and therefore without really knowing what was in it, leading to a difficulty in making local transition. There was no budget for rehearsals, and consequently it lacked professionalism. Ideally one would have taped it in advance, and let the participants edit. A series of eight is too long: it would have been preferable to have three series of three films each, with time in between to build a viewing audience and evaluate what has been done, and possibly stir up some action.

7th program -- member of the Department of Architecture. Thinks their general approach was unimaginative, and this fault was magnified by the late arrival of the film. "How To Live in a City" was difficult to relate to smaller, less intense, local problems. The same difficulty, however, made for better cooperation among local resources, and made for interaction among these resources and the personnel of the university and of the community. (These comments are difficult to interpret; the panel on this show had only university personnel on it.)

8th program -- Assistant Director of the City Planning Commission. The ideas were pertinent, although the problems in the film were greater than any they have. He used zoning maps of Salt Lake City, and a film of the city's social "badlands." The local film enabled the planners to show conditions as they actually are, and to draw conclusions from them. He had no written feedback, but some people commented informally.

It is reasonable to conclude from these personal reports that as in so many other cities even limited funds may have made a considerable difference in the quality of the programs, and in the enthusiasm of the program directors. One wonders, too, whether it was wise, in a program which was planned to emphasize added studio materials, to give the responsibility to academics. A comparison of the two programs making a major effort in this direction, Salt Lake City and Hartford, certainly suggests that a more satisfactory result is likely when a professional television person is cooperating enthusiastically, and giving considerable direction to the development of the visuals.

3. Involving the General Public

It is clear from the Utilization Manual and from the early discussions of the project that there were some general hopes of generating a considerable amount of public discussion and study around the films and readings, hopes which, by and large, our data indicate, were not realized. The treatment below of the activities of this sort which we did find classifies them into three categories:

lectures, courses, and other distinctly academic programs, in which the university provided the center for the program; relatively unorganized efforts to stimulate informal discussion groups; and attempts to mount an organized drive for informal groups, often using an already existing network of established study-discussion apparatus.

Lecture Series and Courses

The most ambitious of the academically-oriented programs was Seattle's, where the University of Washington announced a year-long educational program on urbanism, in which the film showings and the panels were embedded. In the winter quarter, January through March, before the films were scheduled to be shown, the Division of Continuing Education offered a lecture series called "The Urban Way of Life: Values in Conflict," which deliberately sought to provide the range and depth on urban problems which the Washington staff felt particularly were lacking in the films. The series took up such topics as the rise of the first cities in Mesopotamia and Egypt, demographic and economic factors in urban development, aesthetic aspects, city planning, governmental structure, and included a special lecture entitled "The Quality of Urban Life: The Testimony of Literature." The latter was recorded in Holland, where the lecturer, Seymour Betsky, was occupying the post of Visiting Professor at the University of Utrecht; the professor answered questions during the discussion period via Tele-lecture from the

Netherlands, which must have been the most complicated piece of program arrangement we came across in the study.

The televised film showings that followed were prominently announced in the spring quarter bulletin of the Division, and in the following spring the series was completed with a lecture-discussion on pollution and the environment. The staff was disappointed by the response to these programs; about 50 persons subscribed to the first series on urbanism, and only 35 for the second.

A comparable lecture series on the Berkeley campus of the University of California made no such effort to strike out independently, but tried to have each lecture on campus coincide with the presentation of the films. The announcement of the series also required some organization time, the lectures were scheduled before some of the films had actually been completed; as a consequence, last-minute changes in film titles and recasting of subject matter for one or two of the films caught the Berkeley people with plans already made and promotion almost begun, precipitating a brou-ha of considerable dimension. Although a number of people told us that more lead time for planning would have been desirable, in no city did we find that view expressed with quite the ferocity of the San Franciscans, although they finally did manage to bring their program in line with the films. Indeed, when the reaction to these timing problems is considered alongside the very critical opinions of the films themselves on the part of some of the San Francisco program people, one cannot avoid the impression that several of those we interviewed feel that they were the target of some eastern-inspired con game.

The evaluations of the lectures are mixed. The extension staff member involved thought that, with a few exceptions, they went well. One speaker showed up drunk, he recalls, but probably gave a better speech as a result. "Another pulled some yellowed lecture notes out of his bottom drawer, spoke twice as long as we asked him to, and said nothing." The other six, however, he thought were first rate. Financially, the series was not self-sustaining, but they had not expected them to be. Attendance varied from a high of 160 to a low of 100, which he considers better than average for the campus.

The list of speakers is, in fact, stunning, and would have been almost impossible to duplicate at any university outside of the University of California, which can, when it wishes, casually arrange a local panel with six or seven Nobel Prize winners on it. In the order of appearance, it included: Martin Meyerson, Joseph D. Lohman, Catherine Bauer Wurster, John W. Dykman, Justin Herman, Samuel E. Wood, Nathan Glazer, and William L.C. Wheaton. To promote attendance, the Division added, from week to week, a number of "commentators," who with the permission of the announced speaker, provided criticism or commentary. For the "Run From Race" program Horace Cayton, author of Black Metropolis, appeared; to comment on Wurster's discussion of suburbia, they added

Ned Eichler, whose father has built many California suburban developments; "to discuss Justin Herman's topic - really it was a debate more than a discussion - we obtained James Frankel, an attorney prominent in the Urban League, the local chapter of which has been attacking Herman's mammoth redevelopment projects in San Francisco." The university staff person made a particular point, too, of asking each lecturer to see the films, in some cases arranging previews for them.

But, he concludes, "the hoped-for stimulation of ideas either for speakers or audience simply never developed. I can't recall a single question coming from the audience after any of the lectures which had anything to do with the film. We asked for showings of hands on several occasions and found that about 75% of the audience was looking at the films, but nothing ever seemed to come of this. Certainly the films were of some aid to some persons in understanding the lectures, but not uniquely so or in any way that the lecturer himself could not have arranged with visual aids of his own choosing."

The University of Oklahoma, which tried a totally different campus-centered approach, also had its timing problems. The series went out over the University's ETV station as part of a routine NET showing, but the Division of Continuing Education could not do anything about it for lack of planning time. Instead, they decided to run it again in connection with a special package by using a part of their seminar on Education for Public Responsibility, which had been run for some time at the Conference Center at Norman. The films were shown from April 15 to May 24, 1965; then they held a residential seminar at the Center on May 23-25, under the title, "The Challenge of the City: Prospects and Problems." Registrants for the seminar were sent the book of readings as part of a pre-conference materials packet, and were given specific reading assignments. It was hoped that the films would have been a kind of pre-conference material, too, but the staff's general impression is that few who came had seen them.

The seminar was held from Sunday evening through Tuesday afternoon, and consisted of a series of sessions devoted to urbanism and values, planning, government, financing, crime, and the future of the city. The general pattern for each session was a presentation followed by a discussion group period of several hours. Promotion for the conference was extravagant by the Center's standards: about 5,000 mailing pieces, special calls to about 200 leading business and professional men across the state who had attended past conferences; one day several staff members went into Oklahoma City and just started in on the phone book. Despite all this, only 25 persons attended.

The staff attributes the disappointing results partly to a consistent difficulty in attracting people to their offerings in public affairs, which they feel are not related to personal betterment in the way liberal studies are, or to job advancement.

But there were more specific problems, too; "our promotional approach, I now see with considerable hindsight, was designed to attract only those people already committed, and our mailing list - to status people - may not correspond with an 'interest' list. For example, most of the people on that list would be political conservatives, and our brochure says that Joe Brown is going to discuss 'Urbanism and Human Values,' and Joe's already tweaked their tails a bit." Too, for the last few years, "we've been up to our ears in urban problems out here and everybody's sick of hearing about it." Finally, the poor audience generally for educational TV may have had something to do with the low level of interest.

On the whole, then, the campus-based programs turned out to be uniformly disappointing to their sponsors. These three efforts, nevertheless, stand up as very interesting variations on the basic program patterns we found more generally, and the Berkeley program, at least, might well have been considered a successful one in another milieu.

Informal Discussion Groups -

Unorganized

We found little evidence that the national publicity and mailings from various organizations, urging the formation of viewing groups, had any effect. There was undoubtedly more that happened than we did find; respondents we talked with occasionally mentioned hearing about some group or other in a church, or in a home, but we were seldom able to track them down. Typically, in Seattle the station program manager reported that a check of his station logbook during the period of the broadcasts showed a call from an Episcopal Church group asking for a number of the Viewer's Guides. The educational director of the Seattle diocese, however, knew nothing of any discussion groups, and indeed had never heard of the Metropolis program, though she was much interested in urban problems and asked for additional information.

A group met at All Saints Church in Austin, organized, we discovered, by the minister, who reports that he heard about Metropolis "through the grapevine," and called the station to get the sources for the book and the manual. Eight or 10 people became much involved in the discussions, "I never had a group that did its homework so consistently," he reports. The group discussed assigned readings for 15 minutes or so before the films came on, and talked for an hour after the showing; they were, according to the minister, excellent discussions, sometimes exciting.

In several other cities where the local university, though not attempting any organized drive for discussion groups, nevertheless sent out a good deal of promotional material suggesting their formation, results were negligible. In Calgary, the university offered to help organize groups if anyone was interested, but there were no takers. In Toronto the public library ran a discussion group meeting on Sunday mornings, with some apparent success, but there is no information on any others. The University of Omaha offered help to any organization that wished to set up groups, and the Omaha Adult Education Association promoted the idea heavily. The League of Women Voters there did organize one group, bought 15 or 20 Guides, and apparently had a core of six or seven who, according to one university informant, "got real dedicated." Since the League at that time was involved in getting out an urban renewal vote, and had set up a speakers' bureau, it is surprising that more was not made of the opportunity offered by the Metropolis program.

It is similarly surprising that it occurred to no one at the University of Akron to use an already existing organization called Neighborhood Forum, a number of viewing groups with a feedback format, widely credited in the city with getting a city income tax passed. A number of separate discussion groups were formed in Akron, however. One met in the home of the college chaplain, and the group in some instances took field trips either before or after the film showing, to visit blighted areas, for example. The Adult Education Council had one meeting devoted to the problems treated in Metropolis, and at least one of its Thursday morning breakfast meetings focused on it. There were several home groups operating, though we could get no details on them, and one that was set up by the Adult Program Director at the YWCA, which met for two-hour sessions over a period of 12 weeks. This one was a small group of highly educated women, and the leader considered it an altogether enriching experience. "The women in the group were very much absorbed in the films and in the ideas which they presented, and in the relevance of these problems for Akron citizens. They're still talking about it - someone mentioned something about it just today, in the group in which we're doing Great Decisions. The series was very vivid for them, and became even more so; after we had seen all the films, we had a kind of party at my home with all our husbands and some conversation with the executive director of county planning, and the women were really exhilerated about being able to talk intelligently about local problems."

In Boston, a number of people tried to get an organized program going, but met difficulties that finally defeated them. At the start, the Council announcement of the program reached local educators before the ETV station knew anything about it, which annoyed station personnel and appears to have had long range effects on later cooperative efforts. Some early ideas were considered for cooperative seminars run by several of the universities, as well as seminars set up by each one, but the timing seemed to be entirely off. The universities had already planned their programs for the Fall (to which time the station had postponed the series), as had the Adult Education Association. Boston University went ahead with plans for an ambitious open-to-the-public seminar, but their Development Office, which initially thought it could provide $5,000 for it, finally concluded that it could not fund it.

The Boston station mailed 2,000 copies of the brochure to members of a considerable list of local association, urging that study groups be formed, and received a number of inquiries from church groups. At least three church groups did start discussion groups, but apparently none of them survived the first two or three meetings. The Unitarian-Universalist Association estimates that it had about fifty study groups in the area, but it was not possible to follow up on this disconcertingly large figure. Our Boston reporter quite reasonably doubts the estimate, and on the basis of what is known about the program in the Boston area, and in other communities as well, it is most unlikely.

Troy and Schenectady provide one of the most fascinating and atypical stories of the study. Bernd Foerster, a professor of architecture at Renssalaer, in Troy, wrote much of the script for, and appeared in, one of the films in the series, "What Will They Tear Down Nest?" The area ETV station is UHF, and although it has by now shown the entire series three times, there is some doubt that the total audience for it has been very substantial, particularly since it suffers from signal trouble as well. But Foerster himself has shown his film, by one estimate, to thirty or forty groups in the area, such as Kiwanis and Rotary. According to a young lawyer we talked with, "People in these groups like the film; they see something pointed out to them that they have never quite understood - why is it that you live an area, why is it a nice street to live on, what is having a home all about? This is the major contribution Bernd has made: helping people understand something which they have not before, not only about what having a home is all about, but also about architecture itself . . Foerster teaches you why buildings in Troy are valuable. He makes you look at things and he makes you see."

The film has thus provided Foerster with a valuable tool for what he has been doing anyway for a number of years, preaching preservation of what is valuable in architecture, and persuading the community to take a new look at urban renewal tactics. About the other films in the series the people we talked with remember very little, and the station operates on such a shoestring basis that they had little money or energy to promote the showings, nor was there any effort to develop a panel show or other forms of additional programming. Yet, as the evidence to be reported later in the section that considers the impact of the program on the community shows, a great deal more happened in Troy than in most cities surveyed.

In neighboring Schenectady, the Adult Education Division of the local school system ran a discussion series, planned in cooperation with the TV station (which agreed to run the series for a third time specifically for the purpose), the Bureau of Municipal Research, a local Citizens League, the Chamber of Commerce, the electrician's union, and the Superintendent of Schools. Invitations were sent to people who were particularly active in the community and in urban renewal, 30 of whom indicated interest. Our visit to the community coincided fortunately with the first meeting of the group, so we were able to get one detailed report of a discussion group held around the series. There were 20 people present, including a physicist working in one of the local laboratories, a secretary active in the Citizens League, several business agents from the union, the chairman of the board of the Senior Citizens League, a professor from Renssalaer, a pastor on the local board of the Council of Churches, a local businessman, and the president of the ETV channel in Schenectady.

Though the report of the discussion is too long to summarize here, it is clear that is was a rousing one and very relevant to the major issues raised in the film the group had just seen. One incident in particular worth noting indicates how valuable the discussions may be in heightening awareness. Our observer writes, "It could be that the reason there was only one Negro there, the chairman of the local NAACP, derives from the fact that there is a relatively small Negro population in Schenectady. I think he made everyone uncomfortable, certainly not by anything in his manner, but just by his being. One incident in particular makes me wish I were going to be here when they have their next discussion, on 'Run From Race.' One of the men, who would far rather talk about how everything is wrong in Schenectady than try to think about possibilities for the future, worked himself into a real fever of indignation about the people who live in Federal housing projects. He went farther than he intended with his diatribe, I believe, before he realized a Negro was sitting behind him. Never did he use the word 'Negro' nor did the people who leapt into the conversation with considerable embarrassment trying to erase the impression which he had given. It may turn out to be significant that when later in the evening the moderator said our next film is called 'Run From Race' several people said 'From what?' and she said 'race,' r-a-c-e. Run From Race! Many people still didn't know what she was talking about and finally with sort of a gentle cough, she said, 'You know, the Negro ghettos in the center of the city'."

Informal Discussion Groups-Organized

The failure of every effort to set-up discussion groups on a large scale, except where it concentrated on a particular interested organization, is striking. Portland's successful attempt, based on cooperation with the Metropolitan Area Planning Association, has already been described in Section III; North Carolina's fruitful tie-up with local planning boards will be reported in the next part of this section, as will the one successful group in Los Angeles.

Vancouver, possibly, may have turned out to be an exception to the apparent rule, if the operation of an extraneous factor had not defeated the university's intentions. The Extension Division there had built up, over a period of five years, a major study-discussion program involving 250 groups. The staff had planned to use them as viewing groups, around as many as 30 viewing points, and hoped to persuade CBC to give them an open line for questions to panelists. The newly-appointed president of the university, however, was not very sympathetic to the Extension Division generally, and the money necessary to maintain the study-discussion apparatus was "the first to go." Without staff to do the necessary organizing work, the Division had to abandon their plans and concentrate on the panel presentation.

Several other uses of the series were attempted in the general vicinity of Vancouver, with mixed results. A successful program was held on campus for students in planning, architecture, sociology, and other related disciplines, that attracted an attendance ranging from 75-100. A local station in Okanagan Valley began showing the series, but discontinued it because of difficulty in finding local resource people who could relate the films to their local conditions. The Vancouver School Board set up a class as part of the Evening Class Adult Education programs, with the assistance of the university, but it had to be cancelled after two sessions due to lack of response.

Los Angeles, as previously reported, did not at the time have an ETV station, and announced a program based only on the book of readings through the routine channels of their established study-discussion program, with no success. New York University, which has a similar suburban-based informal discussion program, ran a two-day leadership training session in White Plains, but no groups developed to use the leaders.

In Memphis, Southwestern University, with a similar established structure of study-discussion programs, succeeded in forming two groups, one meeting in the morning, the other in the evening, at the campus. Though everyone involved thought them successful, it is clear that the readings constituted the major focus for discussion, and many of the participants had not seen the films. Memphis provides one of the clearest bits of evidence we have on the inefficiency of the communication lines of national associations. The Extension Dean tried to contact the local representatives of the national organizations which had agreed to alert their memberships, and particularly the local church people. But in an attempt to involve the National Council of Churches, he could not locate anyone who saw the program as within his responsibility, and his correspondence with the regional headquarters went unanswered. The Memphis coordinator of the Poly-Diocese Program of the local Episcopal Diocese reported that he had never received word from New York, though he supervises "an urban poly-diocese program of experimental development work in urban mission."

One can find reasonable explanations for the low level of success in each of these situations, lack of staff or budget, no ETV station, or, in the case of New York, a station which refused to show the films at a useful time, or ineffective communications among interested organizations. The Madison experience, however, is a fair test of the study-discussion format aimed at the general public, because a great deal of staff effort was deployed, and there were no technical problems.

The university staff in Madison sent a packet of materials including a general description announcement, a film preview invitation, and an application for discussion-leader training sessions to over 250 civic leaders, heads of community organizations, and all city and county officials. Newspaper coverage included announcements in the television section of the local papers as well as several full-length feature stories on the series by public affairs columnists. The Extension Division's field staff made innumerable individual contacts on behalf of the program, going down the telephone book calling ministers, librarians, school principals, urging people to view the series and participate. The preview was attended by only eight people, and no discussion groups developed at all. The local staff found all this discouraging, and attribute it to a number of factors, among them: that the whole concept of learning from TV seems to be alien in Wisconsin, and they have had poor enrollments in every program of this sort; that until recently the ETV channel had an extraordinarily weak signal, and people get exasperated with the poor image; Madison is one of the most over-organized communities around; most significantly, perhaps, the subject of municipal affairs is simply not attractive to a lot of people, and even the League of Women Voters members seem to be more exercised about national and international affairs than they are about the state house. The director of the program, remarkably enough, is thinking of trying another such program this year, though she has some doubts; "it gets to the point where you wonder if you can afford that amount of staff time for so few results."

4. Selective Involvement of the Public

So few places made program attempts that might be classified under this rubric that it is almost an empty category. Aside from Portland, there are only two programs that seem reasonably to fit it, but one of them, North Carolina, is one of the most successful of those we surveyed.

The other, in Los Angeles, is programmatically minor in scope, but significant for what it suggests might have been possible as a wider application for the series. The announcement of the program in one of the regular Extension brochures came to the attention of the Director of Planning for the City of Buena Park who, in conjunction with one of the City Councilmen, persuaded the Council to support the formation of a lecture-discussion group by appropriating funds for tuition charges. The inherent possibilities of this unique program seem so important, that the detailed report on it contained in the staff memorandum of the Division is worth presenting in full:

> The rationale behind the Council's willingness to commit city funds to this project was the argument that if city officials at various levels could meet in an environment in which the direct pressures of city business were absent, much relevant information about the viewpoints, concerns and special problems of these officials could be exchanged. The thought was not to ignore the problems of Buena Park, but to examine them in the framework of a larger context. I suspect this reasoning was not previsely spelled out at the time the program was being promoted, and I will discuss this below.
>
> At any rate, such financial underwriting assured sufficient enrollments and the City Council paid for 23 participants.
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> Meetings were scheduled to be held in the City Council chambers and the first two sessions were in fact held there. These chambers were quite unfit for discussion purposes because of their large size and design. Participants had a choice between sitting in auditorium seats in the main part of the chamber, which accommodates around 150 - 200 persons, or in the council area itself which featured microphones, highbacked leather chairs with headrests and other distracting paraphernalia. The meetings were moved to the Buena Park Recreation Center where an atmosphere more conducive to good discussion was easily arranged. This move, however, may have downgraded the program in the eyes of some participants who may have felt that the Council Chambers gave the proceedings a desirable and authoritative tone.
>
> General Description of the Program. The format used was the familiar one of an hour's lecture followed by discussion based on both the lecture and the set of readings for the session. Guest lecturers were used in two of the sessions, the introductory session and the session on planning. Dean James Gillies of UCLA was guest lecturer at the first session;

and Claudio Arenas, former Director of Project Planning for the City of San Juan, Puerto Rico lectured at the session on planning. A 30-minute film based on Luigi Laurenti's book Property Values and Race, was shown during the session on housing. These were the only outside resources employed during the eleven sessions of the program.

Positive Aspects of the Program. The major positive aspects were: first, the shared concern of the participants in a common problem, i.e., the problem of administration at the operating level in Buena Park; and second, the cohesiveness of the group. By this I mean the fact that all the participants came from one area. These two advantages are related but are not the same. It would be possible to obtain the first advantage by gathering any group of city officials, but to insure the second they would all have to come from the same city.

The first advantage was unique in the sense that these participants were familiar to an unusual degree with the problems of metropolitan life and urban growth. The existence of this large pool of common knowledge is something that came from direct daily experiences rather than from common educational backgrounds or professional activities. Indeed, educational attainments ran the gamut of eighth grade only through graduate degrees. Professional interests were equally wide and included horticulturalists, an executive of a financial institution, a retired army officer, a school principal, a retired contractor and on and on. The common ground for all participants was their daily engagement either as full-time employees of the City or as volunteer members of various boards and commissions in urban affairs. As a result, discussion was much more sharply focussed and to the point than would have been the case with a group more generally representative of the population.

The second advantage meant that much of the material in the readings was of immediate local relevance to these participants and also raised the level of pertinence in the discussions. This was as true in discussion of the chapters on urban esthetics as of the chapters on transportation and housing. The ability to draw on commonly shared local experiences made the work of the discussion leader much easier than would have been the case had the group lacked this common ground.

Major Problems. The other side of the coin is that these same advantages presented some major problems. The common operating background of the participants occasionally turned out to be a disadvantage. For example, the administrative levels from which the members of the group came were uneven. There were three city councilmen enrolled. (A planning commissioner was elected to the city council during the sessions, whether because of or in spite of the program, I do not know.) Two were in regular attendance and it was quickly apparent that these men spoke with different authority than did a city employee. For the most part, this uneven level of authority did not inhibit discussion, but it was a different problem than that presented in the ordinary group in which a sort of pecking order of discussion is established based on factors other than power.

Similarly, the fact that all the participants were engaged in urban administrative affairs in Buena Park occasionally became a handicap. As one participant pointed out, these problems had all been discussed by these men *ad nauseam*.

The skilled discussion leader has sufficient tools to overcome both these problems although I suspect he would be quicker to recognize the first than the second. It is relatively easy to sense situations in which one or more participants seem to be hesitating on the verge of speech but are inhibited by more forceful members of the group. It is less easy to be aware of areas which may bore a particular group because they are precisely those which have been engaging the attention of the participants during the day. In this particular group, there were some participants who always shied away from any direct discussion of Buena Park, and at times all the participants did so. I mentioned earlier that the organizers of the group had a certain purpose in mind in getting City financing for the program. A clear statement of purpose at the outset might have helped solve this particular problem although it could not have eliminated it. Such a statement together with some research by the discussion leader into the special areas which would not be of interest to any given group and would make this problem manageable.

The fact that the participants were actively engaged in local civic affairs at the operating level also meant that they were extremely busy men. Since the City provided the financial support for the enrollment fees, I suspect that many of the participants viewed the program merely as an extension of their already busy days unlike participants in other programs who often select tnem for the relaxing effect of a change of pace. Indeed, this was partially reflected in the extreme attitutde some participants had against discussing Buena Park problems.

Although 23 enrollments were paid, attendance, except at the first session, never reached that number and ranged from a low of 8 to a high of 19 or 20. About 15 - 18 participants turned out on a representative night. Some participants remain unknown to me to this day. About seven were regularly absent from the sessions including the one woman enrolled. One session had to be cancelled because only three participants appeared; this was apparently due to an unusual convergence of a civic dinner honoring some local citizen plus several other scheduled meetings. Attendance also dropped off in two sessions because of a local election in which the major issue was apparently approval of a bond issue for park and recreation purposes. The session prior to the election was affected by campaigning, the session following the election was affected by disappointment over failure of the

> bond issue to secure voter approval. In the recommendations below, I suggest a solution to the attendance problem.

The engagement of an important part of the community structure in discussion was, in Los Angeles, clearly accidental, but in North Carolina it was purposeful and, if the word did not have such negative connotations, almost ruthless. The program there is, from an educator's point of view, an exciting one, and from this point in time difficult to get very complete data on. We were able to get the broad outlines of the state-wide effort, however, and some information on a few of the local community consequences.

The Head of the Bureau of Community Adult Education in the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina, Eugene Watson, was the initiator and prime mover of the program. He first heard of Metropolis through CSLEA's Newsletter in January 1964, which announced that the series with guides and reading were to be ready in February. One of the objectives of the Bureau is to set up study discussion programs, so Watson hastily contacted the local station "saying get it on the station and I'll go out beating drums."

He was "delighted with the beauty of the program for small groups who are not doing long-term study together . . . and although we're not an urban area, we're becoming one and in this series we can see what the problems are with an eye to avoiding them." Watson talked with the Governor's assistant, who represented himself and the governor as enchanted with the idea, and promised that the Governor would endorse it on TV. While waiting for the books to arrive (evidently spending large amounts of time on the telephone to Wadsworth and Alter trying to get them; they did not arrive until after the series had started) he sent letters to 900 "prime movers" in the state - people active in community affairs. Letters also went out to all members of the North Carolina Adult Education Association, for which the university serves as secretariat, and to people in planning and government under the signature of the assistant director of the Institute of Government at the university. The TV station sent announcements to their list.

Watson knew that the Institute of Government, which had a very large program in training workers in government agencies, were just several weeks away from having a planners' conference, which was one of his reasons for enlisting the Institute's promotional help. At that conference in April, three of the Metropolis films were previewed, and he sold several dozen of the books. Later people wrote in for more, and the Bureau sent out about 100, plus large amounts of the other materials available, which Watson had duplicated with Alter's permission.

The ETV station ran the series twice, once in the morning, and again later in the day. There was not at the time an educational station in Charlotte, which is the real metropolitan area in the state, and Watson almost had the Charlotte commercial station persuaded to run the series there when a civil rights crisis erupted, and the station used its public service time for that, instead. However, a new ETV station is now ready to open in that city, and "we are assured that Metropolis will be used there."

The series was well received. Individuals who had attended the planning conference, eight of whom set up viewing groups, wrote to Watson to express enthusiasm. The Chief of the Division of Community Planning wrote to say that they wanted to buy the films for their staff to use in a study-discussion program. There was a considerable number of individual inquiries about materials, books, and possible re-runs; the station received 40 or 50 inquiries about future showings, availability of materials, and how to set up a group.

Discussion or viewing groups are known to have developed in Fayetteville, Wendell, Winston-Salem, and Mt. Airy, as well as on the campus at Chapel Hill. Watson himself spread the word in the course of his numerous activities. He was teaching workshops on discussion leadership in the community colleges of the state, and as part of his help to the students was able to suggest that Metropolis was one program all ready to go when they were trained; he also assigned some of the reading materials to them. One of his classes has 27 adult education directors of community colleges in it, and he has been "pushing them" to set up Metropolis study groups in their institutions. He has a summer class of master counsellors in the Youth Opportunity Training course, and uses the readings to discuss the problems of urbanization with them.

One of the most interesting plans unfortunately ran afoul of the political climate. The Governor announced that he intended to appoint a Committee of 100 on Urbanism in the Piedmont Crescent, which is the heart of North Carolina's industrial area. Watson decided to re-run the series in the Spring of 1965, timed with the formation of the Committee, and give each member a copy of the readings, if necessary. But then there was an election, and the new governor is from the mountains, so the Committee was never appointed.

At the local end of all this activity we have data only on one city, Fayetteville, with a metropolitan population of about 500,000. The Director of the Public Housing Authority in the city attended the planning conference at which Watson previewed three of the films. She pursued the Institute of Government for details after she returned, and was waiting to hear from them when, by chance, she discovered that the series was being aired the next week. She and a friend quickly called a number of people, put a notice in the paper, and convened a group of 32 people (notable in its membership for an absence of businessmen and clergy - "churches stay out of this kind of thing, the power structure of the community don't want the churches involved in changing it"). Among the group were doctors and their wives, architects, planners, lawyers, a librarian, realtors, city officials. They watched the films at 8:30, and usually stayed on till about 10:00. The attendance fluctuated around 20, with never fewer than eight. The City Planning Board bought the books, and assignments were made each week, though not very many read them.

The group's leader reports that only one of the people who attended was already "washed." All of the others had to be persuaded - and were - that they must take some part in directing the city's growth. "They were made aware that Fayetteville is in a mess, and the series indicated what might happen if they didn't get to work."

At the end of the series, these people decided to make themselves into an action group, with the emphasis on educating others. They call themselves "The Metropolis Group" and this year are watching the Mumford series of films on urbanism; "now they see the local possibilities without so much discussion." They are now laying plans for educational programs about the city's problems, and are offering to take these programs to other groups, Rotary, for example. Each person in the group has an obligation to arrange as many speaking engagements as possible: "If they don't come to us, we'll go to them."

They already have had one noteworthy success. The Metropolis Group was enthusiastic about a study made by the Institute of Government to the effect that Fayetteville needed a joint city-county planning board, and knew that there was opposition from both the realtors and the rural fireman volunteers. "So we should have an open meeting, we decided, have a public hearing on the report. Each of us went to a county commissioner and said to him, "To whom do you listen?' We got in touch with those people and urged all of them to come to a public hearing. Well, it was jammed with people who had heard 'we got to go stop what's going on up there,' although most of them didn't know what it was they'd been told to go stop, and there was a slambang, loud, emotional hearing . . . Well, nobody has yet adopted a joint city-county planning board, and in fact one big rural fireman got axed - uh, relieved of his responsibility - because he thought it was a good idea. But it got people talking."

A reporter on the local paper has got "all fired up" since seeing Metropolis, and the Observer now regularly gives good publicity to planning problems. The Group has recommended an arborist for the city, and the Women's Clubs approved it - "not that this is much, and we don't have an arborist yet, but it keeps stirring people around and reminding them . . . ."

The Planning Board has changed as a result of Metropolis. A merchant who is thoughtful about city problems has been appointed to the Board, which would probably not have happened without the Metropolis Group's recommendation to the mayor, "who is now very sympathetic with our aims." At least one other man on the Board is a little bit better informed about what planning boards are supposed to do, and even the Chairman, who is not a member of the Group, submitted a proposal to the mayor which reflects the influence of Metropolis.

Like Portland, the North Carolina program goes on into the future, and both provide a clue, perhaps, to the reason why the most significant experiences built around the series occur in smaller cities; it is simply easier for vigorous and dedicated individuals to affect public issues in these places than in the megalopolis, without tremendous resources of money and influence.

5. Followups -- Education and Action

The impact of the program on the community is a question of some interest, even though one would not seriously expect any notable outcomes from a program whose intent was purely educational, and which had no organizational funds at all. Nevertheless, the Urban Mosaic program in Portland, with its related discussion group activity, and the Fayetteville Metropolis Group, are models of an educational program and a community action outcome, respectively, which directly and indisputably resulted from the project, further examples of which we tried to find in other communities.

The difficulty in reporting the evidence we did find elsewhere is not that there was too little of it, but that when we asked people about results they often supplied us with a list of everything that happened in the community which bore any relation to urban planning, and attributed it vaguely to Metropolis. The summary below of the data on outcomes includes only those events which "a reasonable man", to use the time-honored legal criterion, might consider to be related to the program. Added to the outcomes already reported, they are impressive enough, in any event. Since we know, in most cases, only the bare facts about those mentioned, they are presented as a simple listing by city.

Akron -- The Director of the Institute for Civic Education intends to use the series in Syracuse for a meeting of the Central New York-Finger Lakes Region Planning Board...After the series was shown, the Institute sponsored a Midwestern Intercollegiate Conference on Urban Affairs, using the title of the series. Robert Weaver came to give the opening address; workshop groups discussed his speech and the application of his ideas to specific areas like race relations, urban renewal, etc., and conference participants saw four of the Metropolis films...On campus, there are senior seminars involving about 250 students in which for half the semester students study national problems and the other half international ones; the book of readings was used this year as the text, and students saw "How To Look at a City" at the beginning. The seminars consist of 10-14 students and within limits they may elect to study certain areas -- several this year elected to see the whole Metropolis series...The Public Library in Akron bought the series, and about 35 groups in the city have now used individual films, with a total attendance of approximately 2,500 persons...The chairman of a local Urban Design Committee, who was on one of the panels reports that a young designer, as a result of the series, has collected a group of slides on Akron and goes around the city with a lecture called "Why Ugliness?"

Austin -- An architect who had been on one of the panels in Omaha, where he had been on the university faculty at the time, thought so much of the films that he had all of them sent to him when he moved to the University of Texas, and showed them to his colleagues. He later used four of them as an epilogue for a conference at the University attended by Mrs. Johnson and other prominent persons involved in the current beautification program spurred by the Federal government.

Hartford -- The Director of the Regional Affairs Center at the University got a grant of $1,200 from the Hartford National Bank after the program to mount a series of ten meetings on municipal government...He also reports his conviction that Metropolis contributed something to alerting people to the fact that Hartford is a metropolitan area. One small town selectman who saw Metropolis at a conference had come to the meeting feeling "Hartford isn't going to dump its welfare problems on us," and went away saying he had to spread the new word that we must consider ourselves part of this whole area; and he did so, "bustling around to the grange, the volunteer firemen, the whole bit..." The station manager saw as an important outcome not only that his audience has tripled and the station has acquired a public affairs reputation, but that the station staff learned an enormous amount about the region, its attitudes and viewpoints, and found some good people to tap for well thought-out opinions.

New Orleans -- Few of the community people interviewed, although they thought the series was a good thing to do, felt that it had much of an impact on the community. The Dean of Tulane's University College, however, sees signs of a good deal of citizen interest aroused by the program, and cites as an example a visit to him of a group of local people to talk to him about their conviction that something ought to be done about New Orleans' problems...He himself called a regional meeting of deans of adult education, and encouraged them to put the matter of urban planning before their communities.

Toronto -- As a result of the Metropolis experience, the Metropolitan Educational Television Association worked on a project with the Women Electors to convene a radio and TV Town Meeting, called "Focal Point." This successful venture was planned to help Toronto's citizens examine the significance of a recent Royal Commission report on metropolitan Toronto, presented a panel of analysts and interrogators, then opened questioning to the large studio audience. The local educational radio station carried the whole meeting live, and parts of it were taped for later television showing.

Troy -- There are a few specific follow-ups one can find here, for example, the Director of the Economic Opportunity Commission has shown Foerster's film to many students in a class he teaches called Community Resources, but the most important impact can be seen in the conviction of many people we talked with that a significant group of people in Troy has really changed their attitudes toward urban design, urban renewal, and the preservation of worthwhile buildings. A young lawyer with a family firm in town notes that in this old and conservative town there has been in the past a noticeable dearth of civic pride: the Chamber of Commerce, when confronted with the problem of urban renewal, could for a long time think only about tearing everything down and bull-dozing. But he has been noticing just in letters to the editor a different kind of attitude; some of these old buildings, people seem to be saying, are nice buildings, if not architectural wonders; they are Troy buildings. He cites several specific examples of this attitude change. His family had for almost a century been housed in the same building, and needed more space; instead of moving out of the area, which was old and growing shabby, as a result of Foerster's film he bought an old building down the street and completely renovated it. His renovation became a catalyst, and others on the street did the same (the before-and-after pictures he showed were indeed impressive). Then he called everyone in the two-and-a-half block area and suggested they pool resources to buy about 40 trees and get them planted, at the cost of about $42.00 each, and they agreed. "These people," he says, "have seen Foerster's film. They may not know why they thought it was a good idea to restore their buildings instead of tearing them down; and they may not know why they thought it was a good idea to spend $42.00 for a tree, but I'm sure that without their having realized it, this is one of the effects of the film." Another example has to do with a once very elegant old private park which has gone steadily downhill into a slum. Our respondent says that directly as a result of Foerster's film, the Troy Arts Council has now purchased a building in that park, and are doing over an old Victorian mansion, to be a center for a variety of performances which they intend to sponsor. It is their hope that they can attract other cultural organizations to the area, and eventually have a cultural center. They are doing very well with their plans, and it may even become a desirable residential neighborhood again; several people have bought homes in the neighborhood and are doing them over.

We were told the same sort of stories by another citizen, who shared the conviction that there has been a real shift in attitudes. He cites the remark made to him recently by a powerful and sophisticated construction man, who said, "You know, this building I'm working on is going to relate very nicely to the other buildings in the area," a comment which our respondent is sure would never have occurred to him to make before he had seen the film. Renovation, he reports, is beginning to be the social thing to do; there was recently a series of articles in a local area newspaper on the interiors of renovated houses, and a "prestige" realtor of his acquaintance clipped them and has begun to look at the old houses he is selling from a new point of view.

Both of these men are, to be sure, friends of Foerster's, and one must view their enthusiasm with some reservations, but the large number of specific examples they describe are very persuasive. The changed attitudes are due primarily to the dedication of the man rather than directly to the film, but the film undeniably helps.

6. Reactions to the Films, Readings, and Guides

It must be remembered, when one speaks of people's reactions to the films and to the written materials, that almost without exception the persons whose opinions are reflected here--some 300 of them-- had not seen the films for something over a year, and in some instances two years; their comments, therefore, are only occasionally specific. Some merely said flatly that all they could remember, at this remove, was that they had thought the series was good, or useful, or somehow missed the boat. Therefore the summary below does not pretend to be more than generally indicative of the impressions which the films left with those who saw them.

Predictably, the attitudes ranged from grateful enthusiasm to complete disenchantment, with praise coming most often from either those who had long been hoping that some films would come along to alert people to the dangers of rampant urban diseases, or from those who had not heretofore been fully aware that those diseases exist. Disaffection was greatest among sophisticated viewers who had been looking for "university level" films, among some educators who found the films "scarcely educative in any sense," and among those who, working daily with the vast problems of urban living, were disappointed that a series designed for an audience of millions could do little more for the professionals in the field than summarize, and that either inadequately or wrongly, what they already knew. There was far more praise than blame, with about 80% finding either all or some good in the series, and only a few thoroughly critical, though these are, below the most vocal.

Typical of the enthusiasm was the director of a social welfare agency in New Orleans: "I do not normally speak easily in superlatives. But this series has a special place in my mind, and even now I have very vivid recollections of it. It is one of the few examples of something constructive and helpful for those concerned with metropolitan growth problems," an attitude shared by almost all of the professional television people, whether with commercial or with educational networks, one of whom called it "the best package I ever encountered," a typical response: and by virtually every architect who has been even briefly exposed to the films. Architects in general remarked spontaneously that they far prefer it to the Mumford series, both educationally and aesthetically, and they, like the TV pros, are complimentary about the technical superiorities: "superlative film editing.... excellent music scoring....beautiful photography....stimulating visually....it has quality--the Stoney touch." Most university people, whether faculty or administration, share the view expressed by a midwestern dean of adult education: "one of the finest educational TV programs we've run into," and these are common attitudes among panelists, discussion group members, and the few librarians, public school teachers, college students, and clergymen we could contact: "enriching....worthy effort....important topics....vital....thought-provoking."

From these encomiums, one goes to the moderate positions taken by these people: an adult education dean: "not brilliant, but good, sustained." An ETV Program Manager: "Too staggering a problem for any one series to give it sufficient attention, but good, interesting." Another ETV Program Manager: "Any ten people would do 10 different series, but I don't object to this one--it's pretty good." Other significant opinions come from nearly everyone, no matter what his background, who lives in a medium-sized city; these people, while thinking that the series is good, usually append to their comment something like this: "It's wonderful as a frame of reference and a natural stimulus for later discussion, but it must be complemented by a local presentation, with knowledgeable citizens willing to discuss the local reality;" because it is easy to feel, "Sure, how to look at NEW YORK CITY," "After New York, who has problems?" "Isn't it too bad about all those poor people in Washington?" without recognizing, as all of the "professionals" with whom we talked did, that many of New York's, Philadelphia's, Washington's problems exist in small cities unchanged except for scale.

A more significant demur from some small and from not-so-small cities: "These are good films, and those are interesting problems, but they bear no resemblance to problems we know here." San Francisco, Seattle, Austin: "These are not west coast difficulties. Those guys will have to get west of the Hudson a little." Raleigh, Memphis, Austin, Omaha, Oklahoma City, Madison: "Here in Raleigh, those seem like fantasies of the future to us. Memphis' ecological makeup is just plain unique. Austin is real 'country,' just a grown-up pretty little town. Here in Omaha we are not a city: in this part of the country the city is an interloper, regarded with either indifference or hostility; and even our industry is based on agriculture--Kellogg's Corn Flakes, Swanson's Frozen Foods, feed and farm products. In Oklahoma City, I can show you block by block which street will vote urban and which will vote rural. When we were showing this in Madison, we really had to dig to find slums large enough to make an analogy possible with the slum scenes in the film."

In short, one major objection was that the films concentrated too much on major metropolitan areas: "75% of the people in this country may live in urban areas, but of the 75%, how many live in such big cities?" complained a community planner in Raleigh. Planners as a group thought that the series was destructive to their profession: "it gives the impression that we want to tear everything down," and two planners levelled an objection shared by a clergyman, a university faculty member, and an ETV Program Manager: "There's too much about buildings, too much attention to the city on the level of the parking meter. What they should be talking about is the human problem of our cities." A university administrator agreed: "The City as a house." Too, a fairly general feeling was: "This is for the audience who is already committed, and is aimed at those few people who actually seek learning stimulation, and change," this said by a conference administrator in Oklahoma City. Although, "For the people who are likely to tune in on such a program, this would be old hat. It won't challenge them with new ideas," an ETV Program Manager in Berkeley.

What further information we have about the reactions of the series' probable audience is similarly balanced: "It goes about four feet over the heads of people we're trying to reach," a planner in Fayetteville, N.C.; "Far too sophisticated for the general TV audience," a New Orleans planner. But, "It assumes an absolute minimum of information on the part of the audience," a university administrator in Seattle; and "It seems a good series for general lay consumption," New Orleans architect.

Or, to balance another series of remarks: "Its largest relevance for us has been to show that people who aren't already involved in these fields can really help and that they had better start doing it," remarked a housing project director in Fayetteville, N.C.; but, "there is nothing convincing about how much 40 people could dc if they put their minds to it," a Canadian public school educator.

A few university people were dismayed by what a faculty member at Berkeley called the tendency for "qualifiers to get wiped out by the mass media--everything becomes black and white," and several planners called for "more valid alternatives," chief among them a professor of planning in Madison: "The series does very well with illustrating values in conflict, with illustrating that that the values of beauty and workability, sociability and withdrawal, freedom to associate with whom you please with freedome to live where you please are not always reconcilable. But what affronts me is the failure of the series to point out how one can reconcile opposing conflicts. This was for me the creative opportunity which the films afforded, and I am dismayed by their giving 50% weight to each side of a problem. The series fails for me, in short, because it does not realize any synthesis."

Two thoroughgoing attacks on the series are thoughtful and significant enough to reproduce even though in their failure to find anything to commend the series, they are not typical. Both were written by university adult educators on the west coast.

> "Professor H. feels that his basic complaint with the series is its lack of intellectual depth. In his judgement, the programs have been at the "high school" or Reader's Digest level. The films, moreover, give a very local sense of the problems they treat, failing to suggest how extensive urbanism issues are, according to him.

"My own experience (based on seeing four of the eight programs....) with the series has been disappointing. I feel, as does Professor H. that the series lacks intellectual perspective. The films do not give the impression that they are the result of analytical intelligence applied to the phenomenon of urbanism with the aim of making it more intelligible to the interested viewer. Instead one is confronted with a series of "shows," each telling a "story" of some locality in terms of its urban or suburban predicament. If these "shows" in themselves had special analytical depth, perhaps their lack of connectedness (their failure to have a cumulative effect) would not be so marked. But, as I think, each in itself is without distinction in its presentation, so that the lack of continuity is especially noticeable. My impeachment here is not, I would hope, the result of my failure to distinguish filmic techniques from verbal or written ones. The film's general lack of substance is matched by their failure to rise above the mechanical commonplace of documentary film making.

"A consequence of the local story tactic in assembling the series has been the ignoring or slighting of many issues which are central to the problem or urbanism. Among these, as I have them from advisory committee members, are government and services, transportation, pollution and waste disposal, the city and leisure, the metropolis as community, and urbanism and poverty.

"My summary judgment is that the series as I have seen it so far is not appropriate to higher education and scarcely educative in any sense."

and

"...the films were not up to our expectations. After a fairly good start with How to Look at a City, they seemed to taper off badly. None of the films seemed to me or to any of our speakers to raise issues in a new or provocative way. They seemed instead for a very unsophisticated "general public" audience level, and after all, the networks are already covering that level of viewing interest, and doing it much more professionally. Many of the films showed very obvious technical and artistic flaws. It was very distressing, for example, to see that How to Live in a City was just

> tacked together with bits and scraps edited out of How to Look at a City. Perhaps even more distressing, because it was so shallow intellectually, was The Run from Race, where, as (our speaker) commented, we are told that the solution to the enormous and complicated racial problems of central cities is a program of painting stoops and tacking up little flower boxes. (That is an exaggerated criticism, to be sure, but (both our speakers) considered the film an insult to the viewer's intelligence and an affront to the dignity of Negroes.)"

Not many had seen either the Viewers" Guide or the Utilization Manual, and the few who had disagreed about them thoroughly. "Really excellent for a background text," said an Akron panelist and a librarian of the Viewers" Guide; but a clergyman grumbled that it was "extremely complicated," and a television program manager found it "adequate, but uninspired." An ETV Program Manager in New Orleans was impressed by the Utilization Manual as "A good piece to reinforce the mass of detail that four hours of TV can give you," but a Boston educator thought it was far too general to be adequate.

Opinions about the book of readings are similarly polar. Some felt that it was all right, with a lot of information; and some were very complimentary, among them a Fayetteville, No. Carolina housing director, and Akron panelist who found it truly excellent," and several faculty memebers in various fields who are using it as a text in both credit and non-credit courses. On the other hand, most people thought that it was too advanced or complicated for the people for whom it was intended (among these were a librarian, a political scientist, a clergyman, and a planner); though one adult educator found it not only pretty bad, but also thoroughly unsophisticated and out of date besides.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

Most of the general conclusions one can draw from the study are fairly obvious from the descriptive presentation. Without staff time or funds to encourage activity in local communities, the project stimulated a truly impressive amount of educational programming on a national scale. To anyone familiar with past attempts to develop national public affairs programs commanding far greater resources, the Metropolis project is an encouraging indication that the existing network of university adult educators and their associates constitute a formidable resource by itself. To the extent that the Council's first program represented an experiment in the local utilization of a centrally produced multi-media package of educational materials, it seems to me that they have proved an important point. Indeed, there is not very much I can suggest on the basis of the study that, under the circumstances, they might have done differently. Most of the recommendations made in this section, consequently, will have to assume the availability of at least moderate resources for the encouragement of utilization, and somewhat better control over the development of the materials.

It is obvious, and would have been so before the study was undertaken, that the quality and imaginativeness of local programs are directly related to the presence on the local scene of some person who was interested in the problem with which the series dealt, was creative enough to see beyond the routine possibilities for programming, and was willing or able to devote a considerable amount of time and energy to its development. It is unlikely that there are very large numbers of such people around the country, but it is equally unlikely that all of them were involved in the Metropolis program, or even heard of it. The problem of developing communication lines of adequate sensitivity to these people is a crucial one.

I have referred several times in the report to the clear difference in response between the very large and the small city. To suppose that these energetic and imaginative adult educators can be found only in the small cities is, of course, very far from true. What one can safely conclude, is that the staffs of universities in the very large cities are probably busier and more specialized and it is more difficult to reach them. The range of possibilities for such a program must seem to them far more limited, for in cities the size of New York or Los Angeles the associational and official structures are far less visible or penetrable than they apparently are in the smaller cities. In the absence of tremendous resources, then, the big city educator is likely to "think small," because he realizes the cost of trying to involve, say, the governmental apparatus in such a program.

This problem may or may not be relevant for future programs of the Council (though I am inclined to think it will always be an important element), but in the specific case of Metropolis it led to some serious miscalculations. The package was developed around the big city examples and though the Viewer's Guide made a valiant effort to help people see the application of the principles to other situations, the most insistent theme emerging from the study is the very great difficulty people had in seeing the relation clearly.

These considerations lead directly to an examination of the patterns of utilization, since the most common device, the panel, was universally perceived as a significant answer to the problem of relevance. There is little reason to doubt that it admirably performed that necessary function in this case; that in about a fifth of all the cases in which the national series was broadcast the films were followed by a local panel of experts and persons representing community interests is a very considerable achievement. But, without detracting from that achievement, the view of a number of people around the country who appear to think that a pure and simple panel constitutes an educational contribution by itself, and one of some magnitude, is one which it is difficult for me to share in a general sense. It is, to be sure, the easiest device to use for a canned television program, though in several of the cases we surveyed a large amount of time was spent on careful selection of panelists. It is, however, still a mass media device, a considerable step closer to the viewer than the films themselves, but almost as impersonal.

And panels can be, and often are, deadly.

I find myself far more impressed, consequently, by the occasional ingenious variation on the panel theme than by the panel idea itself. The use of local film clips and other visuals or, as in Hartford, the development of what is almost a parallel local series, adds some visual drama and helps to create local identification. If well done, it can considerably reduce the ever present danger of rambling wordiness that panels often get into. The suggestion from Wisconsin that questions addressed to a single person would be better than a panel also seems useful in sharpening and dramatizing the presentation. Many more cities than did use these devices wished that they had the money to do so. More improtant, I think, are the attempts to give the viewer an opportunity for more direct identification than he probably gets from a panel of local planners, professors, or officials. The simplest of these was Calgary's "interested citizen" addition to the expert panel, but the "open line" technique favored by the Canadian educators, and the selected studio audience, seem to be far more effective ideas, if they can be managed.

It is difficult to do such a study without building in one's own biases, and it must be apparent that the classification of utilizations set up in the body of the report reflects to some extent my view of what educational objectives are most important. In a general sense I do believe that studio variations that try to provide for audience identification and interest are more valuable than straight panels, and that programs involving people in a genuinely educative activity are still far more desirable. The very indifferent results of efforts to organize "plain old citizens" into discussion groups, however, sharply raises the question of whether it is worth the investment of energy, no matter how theoretically desirable it may be.

The availability of staff and money might have made a difference, but I am not much persuaded by anything in the data that the probability of doing so is very high. The exciting things that happened as a result of the program (with the exception of Troy, which is too singular a situation to count) arose from a fortuitous or planned link between an educational institution and some organization that was already plugged into the problems under consideration. I am hoping to be able to avoid raising, on this issue, the old bogey of a dichotomy between education and action, but merely trying to say that when people are in a position to take some action, or are interested in doing so, they are more favorable targets for an educational program, and can make better use of it. This is particularly true when the program is a one-shot affair without the hope of building continuity and structure in its audience, and when its feeble resources force it to choose among a variety of possible directions.

A related conclusion is, quite clearly, that obtaining the cooperation of organizations on the national level is a very poor predictor for what will happen locally, if we had not already known this before from copious experience. Anyone with a taste for science fiction might conclude that there is an invisible force field operating in the environs of New York that bounces back messages sent to the field from the national headquarters of associations. A possible exception is the League of Women Voters and its Canadian counterpart, whose members seem to be omnipresent in the field, though not particularly interested in forming discussion groups. In Madison, for example, the time of the film showings was set at a time that the League requested as most convenient for its members.

On the basis of these general conclusions, and in the light of the preceding summary of reactions to the materials, I offer the following recommendations. All of them would require more resources than the Council had available to them, and I should probably have to modify them if the subject matter of the program were different.

1. The films series was undoubtedly well done, was professional and smooth, and interesting for most people, but I have concluded that the format itself, the documentary series made by a film documentarian, is to inflexible for this kind of program. The film dynamic, and the way in which they get made, led almost inevitably to the early difficulty in reconciling conceptions of purpose and scope between the educators and the film maker. One of the hack educational film producers would have been more

biddable, but the result would have been an atrocious film. But, good or bad, the problem is to find a format that is suitable to television, but which permits more flexible local use. At the other extreme, of course, if one had enough money, is the appalling possibility of giving each ETV station some money to make their own local program on whatever national theme one has selected. Somewhere in between, I suspect, there is a zone of possibility that needs creative development, a format developed specifically with local use in mind, and that opens-up to such use. If enough money were available, small sums could be granted to those stations that had skilled local staff and wanted to do their own additional filming. We did not find out how much it cost the Hartford station to do "Metropolis: Hartford," but most of the ETV station managers we talked to didn't have enough money for postage, much less local footage. Or, if one can encourage the idea of getting local organizations who are interested in the specific theme to contribute modest amounts, or seek local sponsorship for the TV end of the program, any contribution from a central source could be reduced.

2. The gap between the academic and, for many people, forbidding book of readings, and the brief Viewer's Guide was too large. The book was indisputably useful for some people, and with some groups, but Freedman, who supervised the editing, agrees that for groups which do not wish to go very deeply into the study of urban problems it is too difficult. The Guide, on the other hand, did not supply enough additional background mat-

erial to help the viewer evaluate the films' concepts. What comes to mind as a model for an aid that might be more generally useful are the Great Decisions background pamphlets, which are very carefully written and objective presentations of necessary facts and issues, and relatively brief. The Public Affairs Pamphlets are perhaps an even better model. Any of these alternatives is, of course, costly to produce, and the need for them is obvious and was, indeed, suggested early in the Program Committee's discussions of the program.

3. The Committee's early plans, if they had been carried out, for establishing personal contacts with the field would have been immensely useful. They had hoped to bring interested people into a national conference to discuss program possibilities and utilization plans. I would think that regional planning meetings would be even more useful, ant that teams of three from each community would constitute a valuable unit; an extension staff member, the ETV program manager, and a representative of some local interested community association. The time of an experienced person operating from the national level for a period of six months during the utilization planning stages of the project would be necessary for this kind of scheme, and might in this instance, have doubled the amount and quality of educational activity.

4. Which suggests an ancillary requirement: more lead time. I f the package had been completed, films and books and manuals ready, but not realeased for five or six months during which

time people were encouraged to organize programs locally, there would have been considerably less confusion, more careful planning, time to plan more complex operations, and probably, to some extent difficult to estimate, more programs begun.

5. If the television programs are of a type that can be subsequently rented or sold to libraries, as is the case with the Metropolis series, some attempt might be made to extend the educational usefulness of the materials which have been built around them. NET took a considerable step in this direction by having Indiana promote the films generally with a brochure that included all the details of the package. If the depository can be persuaded to send out with each confirmation of an order a list of readings and guides available, the multi-media idea which is at the core of the Metropolis idea might have a longer run for the money.

The experience with Metropolis has certainly proved that the Council's basic idea is a useful and workable one. This study, hopefully, will provide the kind of information useful for the steering of any complex social operation, the feedback necessary for taking corrective steps.

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

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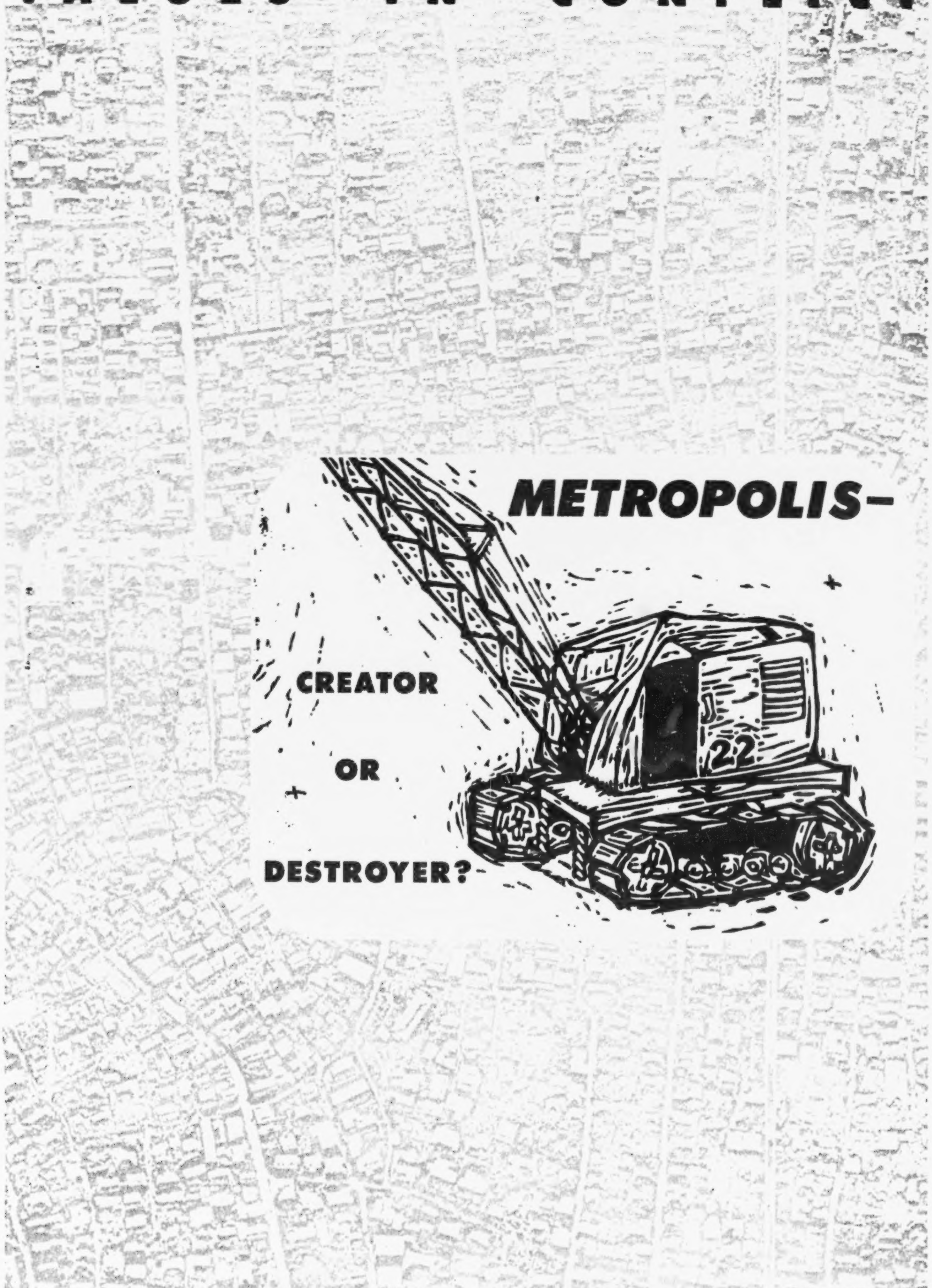
Granville D. Davis
Martin N. Chamberlain
Eugene I. Johnson
A. A. Liveright

Bert Curtis and Kenneth Haygood served part of the time in place of John Friesen and A.A. Liveright, respectively.

Henry C. Alter served as representative of N.E.T.

Paul Kaufman is executive producer for N.E.T.

VALUES IN CONFLICT



METROPOLIS—

CREATOR OR DESTROYER?

VIEWER'S GUIDE

METROPOLIS: Creator or Destroyer?

a NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION film series

VIEWERS GUIDE

by Henry T. Lipman
Director, Center for Continuing Education
New York University - White Plains

This guide is one of several component parts of a new multi-media program for continuing education, developed by the University Council on Education for Public Responsibility.

The components are:

-- 8 half-hour television films, METROPOLIS: Creator or Destroyer -- Utilization Manual -- Viewer's Guide -- Promotional Brochure	available from: National Educational Television 10 Columbus Circle New York 19, N. Y.
-- Book of selected readings, METROPOLIS: Values in Conflict -- Instructor and Discussion Leader's Manual	available from: Wadsworth Publishing Co. Belmont, California

The Viewer's Guide is designed to assist in the systematic consideration of issues raised in the television films, through a brief synopsis and suggested questions for discussion and reflection. Further, it refers the viewer of each film to the corresponding sections of the book of readings. The readings do not duplicate the films, but treat and elaborate aspects of the same problem -- urbanization.

Educational institutions and many religious and civic organizations in the United States and Canada are cooperating with the University Council and with N.E.T. and its affiliated stations in presenting this program. Inquiries should be addressed to these local sponsoring organizations wherever possible. Otherwise they may be sent to:

Director of Program Utilization
National Educational Television
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I. HOW TO LOOK AT A CITY

> "Fame...fortune...love...adventure...
> excitement...culture...fun... Whatever
> you want, the big city's got it.
> 'Come and get it!' the city shouts.
> And by the millions, we come and we get."

The opening telecast of the series introduces us through the human drama of three newcomers to some of the major attractions of the Big City -- fame, fortune, and adventure. Against a background of New York City's tenement houses, bustling sidewalks, high-rise apartments, specialty shops, skyscrapers, and theaters, the film asks whether in this kaleidoscopic setting there is still opportunity for such essential human needs as sympathy, friendship, and even love. These two often conflicting and competing needs -- the material possibilities and opportunities of the city and the need for meaningful personal contact -- form a basic part of the problem of metropolitan living today.

The two needs have been echoed by many thinkers concerned with urban society. Professor Eugene Raskin, in the film, is an optimist, who feels the city will now, as it always has, satisfy both kinds of needs. Other writers are less sanguine. Morton and Lucia White, in the Readings, note that it is only in recent years that intellectuals have even begun to believe that positive human qualities can be found in city living. Lewis Mumford, also in the Readings, is quite pessimistic about the ability of the city today to restore the "maternal, life-nurturing functions, the autonomous activities, the symbiotic associations that have long been neglected or suppressed."

There is general agreement, however, that if we are to make possible the "symbiotic associations," it will have to be done with an eye toward maintaining or reintroducing the three interrelated elements of city life outlined by Professor Raskin -- density, variety, and human scale. We shall need density of population great enough to provide variety of opportunities and choices in friendships, services, relationships -- but not so great as to crowd us in on ourselves; variety of experiences so that the smells, sights, and sounds of the city's carnival is a never ending delight; and human scale, so that we are firmly enough rooted in our own neighborhood that the sheer size of buildings, the rapidity of change, and the numbers of people do not engulf and frighten us from human contact.

All writers are also agreed that there are no easy solutions. Each generation will have a new opportunity to interpret "meaningful city living" through the institutions, buildings, and communities it creates or destroys.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 28 to 58; 106 to 113.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do the problems faced by people living in New York City seem to be of the same order as those of your own city? Do people in cities the size of Atlanta, Buffalo, Lincoln, or Seattle face the same dilemmas as those in New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles? What are the differences or similarities?

2. In order to help achieve "human scale" in the city, the telecast emphasizes the need for people to have neighborhood roots. To what extent can the neighborhood concept be encouraged in the large city? In what ways are you a part of your neighborhood? What neighborhood institutions in the city exist to encourage participation?

3. Would the strict enforcement of municipal occupancy regulations help in maintaining proper density of population? What would you do with the "surplus" people who would have to move out?

4. What can or should be done about preserving historically and architecturally significant buildings if they are owned by private investors concerned with making a profit?

5. Do you agree with city planners and officials who discourage the use of a single building for residential, commercial, and industrial purposes? Why? Do you feel the same about having a variety of single purpose buildings on the same block? How do you feel about "single-use" districts like Lincoln Center or Municipal Districts? Does "variety" have to exist in every building or even on every block? Is it enough that the city as a whole provides "variety?"

6. The film does not show anyone moving out of the city. What values do those who leave the city look for?

II. THE RUN FROM RACE

> "Despite all the efforts of those of goodwill, a larger percentage of our Negro population lives in segregated areas than ever before. Whites continue to resist, then to run. What of the future?"

The bitterness and frustration experienced by persons who find themselves displaced and dislocated from their homes in the wake of urban renewal programs and plans in which they have had no opportunity to participate, poses one of the most serious human problems faced by our cities. For Negroes, especially, the problem is most difficult. Prevented from leaving central city, first, by reason of poverty, and second, by discriminatory housing practices in the suburbs, the Negro left behind finds his schools deteriorating, police protection lax, recreation facilities few, and municipal housing regulations inadequately enforced.

Two competing values are set against each other: the first, the desire of civic leaders to upgrade an area important to the economic, social, and cultural life of the community; the second, the need to provide for the impoverished displaced persons, usually Negroes, who are ill equipped to deal with problems of relocation.

It is in the context of these competing values that we can understand the Negro demonstration of protest which opens the second film of the series. While the specific situation in the film deals with a Philadelphia area undergoing urban renewal, the use of the mass demonstration to protest urban renewal programs has become endemic throughout the country. The situation has become altogether too familiar:

White middle class families first resist Negroes moving into their area, and then, failing to stem the newcomers, they leave, some in panic induced by unscrupulous realtors. Their reasons for leaving are many: fear of Negroes; improved economic status that permits them to move to the suburbs; a desire for a prestige suburban address; their desire to live near people of similar social, economic, and cultural interests; their fear of loss of property values; and the fear that Negroes bring with them crime and delinquency. That these fears are being expressed against Negroes is not new: they always have been expressed by majority groups everywhere when new minorities (immigrants) have come to an area. What is new, however, is that unlike other minorities, the Negro sees no way out of his dilemma.

For the person who remains in central city, there are special problems. The older and established leadership (Negro and white) is often gone. New leadership must be found, or the process of decay will immediately begin. That such leadership frequently emerges from the most unexpected places is a testament to the potential that exists in each individual. Through self-help programs, neighborhood blight often is arrested and frequently standard and property upgraded. The basic ingredient for any upgrading program, however, remains the need for peoples to maintain their active interest and concern with the welfare of their community.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 205-234.

Questions for Discussion

1. Of the many reasons given why whites leave an area into which Negroes are moving, which do you feel are most important? What experience, if any, do you have with a community trying to maintain a mixed racial pattern? What was the result?

2. What suggestions do you have for making transition neighborhoods more attractive to middle class whites? Better schools? Stricter enforcement of sanitation and police regulations? What else?

3. Should there be any governmental redevelopment or renewal programs without specific concern for what is to happen to the persons who are to be displaced? Should the concern of present residents be the sole or even primary consideration in moving toward renewal or redevelopment of an area? In what ways can persons in an area be brought into Urban Renewal Planning? Can we ever expect these people to agree to have their homes planned out of existence? What alternatives exist?

4. Can the problem of relocating persons displaced by Urban Renewal programs ever be resolved without a concurrent attack on discriminatory housing practices in the suburbs?

5. How useful is the "used house" program described in the film as a solution to widespread slum areas? Is it one part of the answer? How can government help in this effort? (Special loans? Tax rebates?)

III. THE FUR-LINED FOXHOLE

> "I buy a house and first thing you
> know I gotta buy a whole damn town."

The joys and frustrations of living in a burgeoning new suburb is the subject of the third telecast of the series. The suburbs -- made possible by the automobile, expanded income, and the encouragement of Veterans Housing and FHA loans -- offer millions a style of living more appropriate to their values and expectations than does central city. Many find, however, that these suburban values have hidden costs.

People move to the suburbs for a wide variety of reasons: to escape the dirt and noise (and minority groups) of the city; to have a house they can call their own -- with a backyard where the children can play without the danger of central city's traffic; to enjoy the reputed quality of suburban schools; for a place to park the car; for an opportunity to enjoy grass and trees and open space; for a prestige address; to shop in ease; and more. All are values not readily attainable in central city.

Many of the new suburbanites discover, however, than lawns, trees, and greenery do not just happen; they are the end result of much grubby, physical work and considerable outlays for seed, fertilizer and tools. Crab grass has its own reason for existence. Parks and playgrounds in the new suburbs have to be built, and these, too, cost money. The schools that seemed to have endless space are suddenly overcrowded, and new buildings and more teachers are needed. Storm sewers must be redesigned and installed to take care of an expanded population. Everything seems to cost more than expected -- taxes, repairs, maintenance. For some the cruelest blow comes when they experience the change from the relaxation of watching the little tots play by themselves in the backyard to the frenzied hustle of chauffering the pre-teen and teenager to school, to friends, to scouts, to dance and music lessons.

In spite of these difficulties, most suburbanites find that their new style of living remains more attractive than what it was in central city. Shopping and parking are easier, friendships seem more secure, owning a house provides a status and stability. Endless opportunities exist to participate in civic affairs, and there is the satisfaction of seeing one's name as well as those of one's friends in the local newspaper. Finally, because the size of the suburban community is well within the human scale, it is easy to identify with and take pride in community achievements -- many of which one can rightfully feel came about partly as the results of his own effort.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 68 -- 88.

Questions for Discussion

1. In what ways do the problems of residents in new suburbs differ from those faced by persons who move into older and established suburban communities? Is there as much opportunity to participate and take a leadership role in the civic affairs of the older suburbs?

2. Does the suburbanite have more, about the same, or less privacy than the city resident? Does the ability to play the piano after midnight without worrying about what the neighbors will say compensate for the loss of privacy in having neighbors who feel free to drop in at any time of day? What is the impact of being so visible that your neighbors know the nature of your work, how active you are in community affairs, the way you maintain your property and grounds, the church to which you belong (and do or do not attend), the behavior of your children? Does the fact that neighbors know these things have any effect on the extent to which you conform to neighborhood patterns and standards? Is the loss of privacy (if there is a loss) compensated for by the pride in being recognized and identified as a person in your own right?

3. What happens to the cultural activities -- theater, concerts, art museums -- of residents in new suburbs? These activities are still only an automobile or train ride away, but do suburbanites take as much effort as city residents to attend them? Is this merely an expression of differences in values between city and suburban residents of the same socio-economic level? Do residents of older suburbs face the same cultural loss?

4. Are people in the suburbs more friendly than those in the city? Would help such as that proffered the sick mother in the film have been equally available in the city? Do suburbanites tend to trust each other more?

5. Is there really more opportunity to be a "pioneer" in the new suburb than in the city? Are the opportunities merely of a different order? What kinds of "pioneering" can be done in the city? Combating delinquency? Trying to find a way to upgrade an area? What else?

IV. PRIVATE DREAM, PUBLIC NIGHTMARE

> "We got the idea that land was something you sort of went in and used up and then went on...used up some more and went further. But we're at the cost now..."

The problem posed in the fourth telecast in the series arises out of the apparent inexorable growth of spread housing patterns; patterns which many planners believe will inevitably lead to a loss of those values for which the houses were built in the first instance. To compound the difficulty, we do not have, nor have we seemed able to develop, institutions to deal with the uncontrolled growth of spread housing.

The growth of spread housing and its concurrent ravishing of land stems from the private decision of millions of us to put into effect the dream of working in the city and living in the country, and traveling back and forth from job to home in the comfort of our own car. Only in recent years, is the impact of what we are doing becoming clear.

The open spaces have begun to close up. The process started first when the suburbs began to zone new residences into larger lots in order to cut rising costs of increased population and to maintain for themselves stable tax revenues. Then as we began to look for less expensive land on which to build our houses, we went farther from our jobs into the farm land beyond the suburbs where zoning ordinances were lax or non-existent, and away from the railroads and highways. At present much of the space between the natural avenues to central city is almost filled and land for new homes can be found only in a new ring in the rural areas beyond the farthest suburbs.

The phenomenon of spread housing is new. Neither city, nor suburb, nor farm, it presents a living experience never before encountered. Back yard spaciousness is retained, but open country is gone. The cohesiveness of the suburb is lost and not replaced by any sense of community. Hundreds of identical lots (often with identical houses) spread out so that no focal point exists for establishing stores, churches, recreational facilities, or even schools. Finally, because there is no sense of community, individual developers are free to ravish local resources without fear of community censure. The result is inevitable: the suburban slum -- the slurb.

The film suggests one partial solution to the problem of the growing number of slurbs: encourage large scale private developers to plan whole communities rather than leave the construction of homes to thousands of separate builders, none of whom have an over-all concern with what the community will be. By planning a whole community, sufficient variety and density can be built into the development so that all can benefit. Presumably, the large developer, concerned with the long-range investment of his project will fight blight before it has a chance to set in.

But even the largest private developer cannot cope with the total dimensions of the slurb problem. He still remains dependent on adjacent large and small developers, nearby municipalities, and state and federal agencies, all of which influence or determine the kinds of roads which will service the community, provide solutions to problems of water purity, air pollution, and so on.

At present, there are few single agencies of government that can concern themselves with planning for an entire region, and we are left with the dilemma of spread housing patterns growing all around us without the means for curbing or controlling it.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 63-68; 95-106; 137-143; 146-149; 269-280.

Questions for Discussion

1. How would you feel about having your local government give up some of its authority on matters of zoning, land use, taxing, etc., to a regional form of government? Do you believe most people could develop the kinds of loyalty to and interest in a regional governmental unit which they now have for the municipality in which they live? Are there any regional government agencies in the area where you now live? (Policy, fire, water, traffic, or other interstate agencies?) How effective have they been?

2. If you were a local councilman, would you encourage small lot residential construction -- with the resultant probable disproportionate increase in school, police, fire, and other municipal costs? Would you expect to be reelected?

3. What impact, if any, do you feel spread housing will have on central city and the suburbs? Can central city expect to have as much support for its cultural institutions as it gets from the traditional suburb? What will spread housing do to prevent suburban traffic problems?

4. What values besides spaciousness of the immediate grounds are available to residents of spread housing?

5. Is the large developer less subject to the pressures of the market place than the small developer? Is it possible that reversals in the real estate market may make the impact of a large developer worse than that of the small developer? Does the fact that the large developer has a plan make a difference?

6. What other suggestions do you have for dealing with the problems of spread housing?

V. HOW THINGS GET DONE

> "We might as well face the fact that in urban renewal as in any other creative endeavor you can't please everyone... someone may be helped by the completion of the plan...someone may be ruined."

Two concurrent themes run through the telecast of the fifth session. The first deals with the unhappy choice which city officials and planners have to make when faced with alternative and conflicting proposals for urban redevelopment and land use. The second theme has to do with the ability of a single dedicated person to put forces into motion which can change the face of a community.

Each city has many needs, all of them urgent. There is the need for adequate housing to take care of low, middle, and upper income groups. There is the need for different kinds of commercial places to care for the varied consumer interests of the city -- from buying the morning newspaper to purchasing a sable coat or a share of stock. There is the need for industrial space to take care of the heterogeneous firms which need a city location. Considered separately, there is complete agreement that each kind of space is needed in greater quantity. The difficulty arises, however, when a choice must be made as to which use should be assigned to a single, specific area.

Over the years, land use in the city changes to meet changing needs. Within one generation fine residential areas turn into rooming house or industrial neighborhoods; industrial and commercial buildings give way to middle or high income apartment houses. When ample space was available, no problem of choice existed: the land went to the highest bidder. Now that space is limited, however, the social as well as financial cost must be considered in making final decisions. We have recognized that the way our cities develop is too important to leave to the money market alone.

The simple answer to problems of land use is -- plan! But plan for what! We cannot plan unless we have aims and objectives; goals which we seek for the city. Only as we approach consensus on how our total community design should look, can community planning be meaningful. The first task in planning is the setting of objectives.

Each special interest group has a plan, something which reflects its objectives, but leaves out of account the objectives of others. The industrial commission trying to attract industry, the chamber of commerce trying to maintain commercial space and hold down taxes, the housing committee concerned with more and better housing, labor unions looking out for the jobs of its members, the tax commission interested in maintaining or increasing taxable property, the fine arts commission trying to preserve historically and architecturally significant buildings, the artists looking for cheap loft space, and so on. Finally, of course, there is the City Wide Planning Commission, whose responsibility is to concern itself with what is best for the total city. But this group, too, can act only in response to the varying pressures upon it.

No decision for the use of scarce space can favor everyone, or even most of the persons or interests involved. Obviously, there is no ready answer. Yet answers must be found, for to do nothing is in itself a form of answer. Nor can we always depend on "objective surveys," for the basic data is frequently in doubt, and the number of variables in most situations too great. All too often the final results of the research reflect the biases of those sponsoring the studies.

While the film uses a rather rundown industrial area of New York to illustrate the complexity of an urban redevelopment issue, the problem is applicable whenever we have to consider alternative uses for land. For the generation which tears down or builds up a whole area must live with its decision; there is no immediate second choice of what to do with a building already torn down and a new one in its place.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 113-117; 120-137; 143-146; 310-326.

Questions for Discussion

1. What solution do you suggest for the South Houston Street project? What values must you be prepared to forego in the light of your solution? To what extent does your solution reflect your objectives for the city?

2. In any redevelopment program, should we be guided solely by what is good for the present users of the property? Can there ever be consensus in any redevelopment program? What kinds? Should redevelopment solutions be subject to a plebiscite? Who should be permitted to vote?

3. Recognizing the complexities of any decision regarding the best uses of scarce land, who would you want to make the final decisions? The City Wide Planning Commission? How would you go about supporting its decisions?

4. In the light of constantly changing needs, can or should there be a single plan, rigidly adhered to, for the total community? What factors, if any, should determine changes in the plan? Would piecemeal planning be more successful?

5. To what extent are people in your community interested in planning for the total community? Are there citizen as well as official groups interested in planning for the total community? Can you identify individuals or groups whose concern with planning reflects their vested interests? Are both kinds of persons and groups desirable and/or necessary?

VI. WHAT WILL THEY TEAR DOWN NEXT

> "All cities need a touch of past grandeur."
>
> "There is apathy in our cities, and capital is being made of it."

In "The City in History," Lewis Mumford points out: "By means of its storage facilities (buildings, vaults, archives, monuments, tablets, books), the city has become capable of transmitting a complex culture from generation to generation... That remains the greatest of the city's gifts." This ability of cities to pass on, in part through its buildings, the culture of one era to another is being destroyed today by the widespread practice of leveling whole areas. It is in protest of this process, and with the apathy which makes the process possible, that the sixth telecast addresses itself.

The nature of cities is to change. But the rate of change in a modern city has no peace time parallel in the past. The wrecking ball and bulldozer too frequently become the only weapons we employ in the war on urban decay. While conducting the battles, however, we are destroying much that is good along with the bad.

Fortunately, there seems to be some indication that the younger architects have become concerned not only with the single buildings which they are helping to create, but with how these buildings fit into the general surroundings. Also, architects have taken the lead in protesting wanton destruction of historical and architecturally significant buildings. This development needs encouragement, but it can come about only by an interested public a public concerned with holding on to the worthwhile building, even finding new uses for it, and creating new buildings for those which no longer serve a useful function. Much that should be torn down, and much that should be retained can be determined only by taste and good judgement, but these are qualities that can be acquired. Much of this taste comes about by recognizing that part of the charm of the city is the juxtaposition of the new with the old, to the benefit of both. The old provides a stability which makes the new more welcome and enjoyable.

Can the public apathy which permits the destruction of the good with the bad be overcome? It is relatively easy to demonstrate on picket lines and write editorials on the day that the wrecking ball actually begins to destroy a significant building, but by then it is too late to picket. That building is already gone. Blight begins with little things, for as the film indicates, successive exemptions can destroy the morale of a city, for each exemption makes the next and larger exemption easier to obtain, and the entire neighborhood can be victimized.

Thus, the fight to overcome apathy must begin in the neighborhood. Successful action against permitting the first building to go into disrepair in violation of city ordinances; against the housing agency when it does not act promptly on complaints; against the first exemption made in residential zoning -- each acts as a stimulus to greater citizen concern and participation. Finally, with experience and insight, citizens can make their protests effective when remodelers or builders start the process of community decay when they use bad design or inappropriate materials.

Slums, being man-made, can be man-prevented. Numerous examples can be cited of residential areas where progress toward deterioration was checked and the areas rehabilitated and upgraded. In each instance where such a reversal took place, the key was an aroused public, concerned and interested in the future of its neighborhood.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 3-7; 44-50; 91-94; 113-117; 128-137.

Questions for Discussion

1. What can individuals do if the owner of a house will not cooperate in making needed repairs? Should a government agency be given authority to compel repairs for aesthetic as well as safety reasons?

2. To what extent have you ever become involved in protesting an exemption in residential zoning? Do your municipal officials welcome questions on exemptions which are being considered? What recommendations would you have for public notice of proposed exemptions?

3. Do you believe that a fine arts commission, with authority to determine appropriate building design, would be an asset to your community? What limitations, if any, would you want to put on its authority? What kinds of persons should be the members of the commission? What would be the function of the interested layman?

4. To whom should the architect be responsible -- his profession, his clients, the community? To what extent are the architects of your community, acting as individuals or through their professional associations, concerned with the over-all design of the city? Is the physical design of our cities too important to be left in the control of any single group, even such professional groups as architects or city planners?

VII. HOW TO LIVE IN A CITY

> "Streets and sidewalks are perhaps the most important kind of open space we have in a city....and the least respected by our city governments."

How and whether our modern cities can create opportunities for the charm and aesthetic delights offered by urban open space is the problem posed in the seventh telecast of the series. These delights, so frequently found in European cities when we suddenly come upon former market places, forums, and plazas, offer one of the best ways in which we can experience variety and human scale in city life. Such open space utilizes the primary resources of the city, its people and buildings, to provide a constant excitement and sense of anticipation. As humans, we find that watching the flow of people, their faces, their actions, their behavior, offers one of the most attractive pastimes. Second only to this is to be in the midst of an ever unfolding change in city scenery.

Urban open spaces should not be confused with large parks, like New York City's Central Park, whose primary function the telecast indicates is not to bring people more deeply into the city, but to allow them to escape city life. Rather, city open space will normally not have any lawns or greenery (which are usually distinguished by their "keep off" signs), but will have places to rest, places which welcome the visitor to sit down and watch the passing scene. Excellent examples of open spaces which encourage people to see people, all in the foreground of a never ending change of scene are places like Times Square, the 59th Street Plaza, and Rockefeller Center. (As the film says, if grass and lawn are the values which people cherish, they ought to live in the suburbs).

Open space in the city can be most effective if:
(a) it relates to the buildings around it, so that persons in the buildings can enjoy what goes on below (as well as in the buildings facing it), while people on the ground can enjoy the various buildings surrounding them; (b) it is enclosed by the buildings around it in a definable shape, so that the eye stays within the space itself; (c) it has a center of interest such as a fountain or statue which provides a focal point where people can gather and a point of interest to which the eye can return; and (d) it must have a character "able to provide for love" and capable of developing its own personality which it can stamp on the community that surrounds it."

There are a variety of ways in which city open space can be developed even within our typical city gridiron pattern. First, by commercial and industrial users like the Seagram Company who recognize the need for variety and human scale outside their buildings as well as within. By semi-public institutions, like colleges, which build into their development plans areas like the Columbia University quadrangle. Finally, open space created by the cooperative efforts of individual home owners who remove obstacles like backyard fences which prevent viewing variety and permanently encloses each house in itself.

Most of all, however, open space in the city will depend upon builders being made aware of the need to design their buildings so that the view looking out of windows is of as much interest as the layout of the inside rooms; and of a public conscious of the need to preserve its streets, its sidewalks, and its stoops as among the richest sources it has for maintaining and creating human scale and variety in the city.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 106-117; 152-165.

Questions for Discussion

1. Would you agree with a major thesis of the telecast that large open areas, like Central Park, are merely the residue of our pre-automobile era? Do you feel that these large parks provide an essential need for city people? Does the large park still provide an escape for those without automobiles?

2. Is a primary attraction of city open space (as defined in the film) seeing many other people? Is there a need for places in the city where people can get away from other people? Is it possible that twice the number of people would go to crowded Washington Square if it were only half filled? Does this indicate the need for more Washington Squares rather than more people in single small open spaces?

3. The telecast indicates that only we can supply the love of city open spaces -- but can the planners help? How?

4. How can builders and architects be encouraged to make open space a part of their designs? Should municipal codes set standards for open space in new construction?

5. What suggestions do you have for creating open space in a community established on a grid plan? How about forbidding automobiles in certain sections and leaving the streets solely for pedestrians? Should we encourage the growth in central city of shopping plazas? What else?

VIII. THREE CURES FOR A SICK CITY

> "Improvement can be just as infectious as blight."

A variety of methods have been tried to deal with problems of urban renewal and modernization. As we have seen in previous sessions, there are no perfect solutions which will satisfy everyone. The needs of current users must be balanced against the total needs of the community and the special needs of particular groups. In the final telecast of the series, three different approaches to the problem of urban renewal and modernization which were tried in Washington, D.C., are considered. Each solution raises a number of questions, but each is marked as the product of a neighborhood that knew what were its objectives.

The first approach was in the Georgetown area, where individual initiative, with a minimum of government assistance, turned what was fast becoming a slum district into one of the most fashionable sections of the Capitol. First one person, then another, began to modernize, remodel, or renew some of the old and historic homes in the area. A municipal ordinance was passed giving a Fine Arts Commission some power to see that restorations and renovations of both homes and shops preserved the style and the feel of the atmosphere. Within a period of 20 years, Georgetown, while it still has a great variety of houses and incomes, has changed from fast becoming a slum area to an upper income district of great attraction. As the film indicates, houses which in some parts of Washington would sell for $20,000, now sell for $60,000 in Georgetown.

This is cited as proof that government aided slum clearance is not needed. But the Georgetown experience raises a serious question for persons concerned with total community planning. In the 1930's, the area had 15,000 residents, most of them poor, 3200 of them Negro. Today it has 12,000 residents, mostly well-to-do, and less than 400 of them Negro. Obviously, the district was upgraded not for the residents who lived there, but for new residents. Presumably, many who left now live in other slums in Washington.

Government assistance played a major role in the second approach to the problem of urban development in Washington. In this instance, an area of about 25,000 people was entirely razed. The reasons for leveling the buildings seem clear: as late as 1955, one-fourth of the houses still used backyard privies; most of the other houses were in disrepair; the district was the center for the city's failures, its cripples, and its outcasts.

On the cleared grounds, private developers erected middle income high-rise apartments. Rents started at $110 per month for ground floor efficiency apartments of one room. There is no low income housing. For those who live in these apartments there is ample room, and the panorama of Washington is constantly in front of them. In many ways it provides ideal living accommodations, but 90 percent of the former residents can no longer afford to live there.

The third approach for dealing with urban development in Washington combines both governmental and private resources, and most important, involves all those who will be affected by the change. The area contains a wide variety of racial and nationality groups, apartments, private homes, rooming houses, commercial establishments, and industries. Discussion among all residents resulted in a plan which calls for improvements by private home owners, areas set aside for high-rise middle-income apartments, sections to be cleared for parks and play space, and scattered units of public housing. If the entire program were completed, about a quarter of the residents and about half of the businesses would have to leave the area.

At the moment, the plan is still opposed by a variety of special interest groups: light industries which do not want to be forced out of the area; and private developers who want to make the area a new Georgetown. There is agreement that the plan, or any plan which follows, will be a compromise which will satisfy many, but not all those involved in the planning.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 120-137.

Questions for Discussion

1. Which of the three approaches to urban renewal did you favor most? Which plan did you like least? Can there be any single best plan for urban renewal?

2. Is it inevitable that some people will be hurt by any plan for urban renewal? What obligations, if any, are owed to those who are hurt? Who should share these obligations -- the new users? the various branches of government?

3. Is it realistic to expect to involve all people in an area to work on a plan for urban renewal which will inevitably hurt some of them?

4. Do you believe that compromise is the best way of dealing with problems of urban renewal? Is it likely that fewer people or groups will be hurt this way? Will final plans, if based on compromise, be as creative in dealing with the problem?

5. Is it more, or less, likely that plans for urban renewal will be put into effect if all segments of the affected area are involved in working out the plan?

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